



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE
(SNCC)**

PART 7 OF 14

BUFILE: 100-439190 SECTION 10

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Section 10 of 19 sections

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Reporting Office DETROIT	Office of Origin ATLANTA	Date 1/5/68	Investigative Period 11/21/67 - 1/4/68
TITLE OF CASE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)		Report made by SA [REDACTED]	Typed by cmt
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - SNCC	

REFERENCE: Bureau airtel to Detroit, dated 11/21/67.

- P -

LEAD

DETROIT

AT DETROIT, MICHIGAN

Will follow and report SNCC activities in Michigan.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

The pretext interview mentioned in instant report on October 12, 1967, was conducted by SA [REDACTED]

Approved <i>[Signature]</i>	Special Agent In Charge	Do not write in spaces below	
Copies made: ⑨ - Bureau (100-439190) (RM) 1 - G-2, Detroit (RM) 1 - NIS, Chicago (RM) 1 - OSI, Dayton (RM) 2 - Atlanta (100-6488) (RM) 2 - Detroit (100-31374)		100-439190-15-13	
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AGENCY: ACSI, NIS, OSI, SEC. SERV.

HOW FORW: *[Signature]*

DATE FORW: *[Signature]*

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Characterizations of individuals mentioned in this report were utilized where available.

Reference is made to Bureau airtel to all offices dated August 22, 1967, which instructed that Administrative pages of the report should list the identity of case opened on individual SNCC members and the current status of these investigations.

[REDACTED]

One copy of this report is being designated for dissemination locally to G-2, SIB, and OSI.

This report has been classified ~~confidential~~ since information appearing therein from most sources is from sources of continuing value whose exposure could be harmful to the national defense interest.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

Location

[REDACTED]

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SECRET

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

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Report of:
Date:

SA [REDACTED]
January 5, 1968

Office: Detroit, Michigan

File Number:

100-31374

Bufile: 100-439190

Title:

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
(SNCC)

Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Synopsis:

Information re location, purpose, officers, membership, meetings, funds, activities, and influence of SNCC in Detroit set out. SNCC activities in Michigan, as well as appearances of National SNCC leaders in Michigan set out.

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ON 9/19/77 LED/rjg

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~~Excluded from automatic~~
~~Downgrading and~~
~~Declassification~~

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DETAILS

1. Basic

This investigation is not intended to indicate any interest in the legitimate activities of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). There are reflected in this report certain programs and activities of SNCC wherein its personnel were involved in the planning of or engaging in violence.

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11. LOCATION

On October 12, 1967, through the use of a pretext interview with ~~DOPOTHY BERRY~~ *Mich.* Detroit SACC Leader, 1863 South Ethel Street, Detroit, it was determined that Detroit SACC Headquarters was, in the past, located at 16229 Hamilton, Detroit, but according to DOPOTHY BERRY she stated the activities of SACC emanate from her residence.

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III. PURPOSE OF ORGANIZATION
(including data on membership, meetings,
funds, activities, and influence
of organization)

Through the use of the above-mentioned pretext interview with DOROTHY DEBERRY, the following information was obtained.

There is no way to actually state what the membership is and no dues are required; they do not have any planned formal type of meetings. Funds received come from the National Headquarters of SNCC or through contributions from SNCC sympathizers. Individuals associating with SNCC are college students or other individuals involved with more highly organized and militant type groups.

Whenever SNCC is listed as a sponsor for the appearance of any of its national leaders, such as STOKELY CARMICHAEL or E. BAB BROWN, the name of SNCC is credited with their appearances, but are more often sponsored by militant groups or individuals involved with religious affiliated groups. Individuals desiring to join SNCC are advised to contact DOROTHY DEBERRY at her residence and she, in turn, will furnish the contacting individual with literature and other material. DOROTHY DEBERRY advised that in the event there would be a SNCC sponsored event, she would personally notify the individuals who would be concerned.

DOROTHY DEBERRY stated that their membership is more of a calling list and it is through this list that people are contacted regarding SNCC activities. She

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advised that most of the SNCC activity is concentrated in the Detroit area, however, there have been some scattered SNCC activity but of no significance at some of the major colleges and universities in the State of Michigan.

During November 1967, [REDACTED] reported SNCC in Michigan as being a loose-knit group with little or no efficiency in its operation in Detroit. [REDACTED] further stated that SNCC leads via name to other sponsoring groups in the area of civil rights, poverty, open housing, fair employment, and peace demonstrations. However, in all of these areas mentioned SNCC is never the initiating factor.

IV. SNCC ACTIVITIES IN MICHIGAN

A. Detroit, Michigan

On June 18, 1965, [REDACTED] advised the Detroit Friends of SNCC planned to assemble outside the Federal Building in downtown Detroit at approximately 4:30 p.m., on this date.

[REDACTED] advised that they would be joined there by some individuals from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor Michigan Friends of SNCC and some representatives of the Ann Arbor Chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).

[REDACTED] advised this group planned to picket in the area of the Lafayette Street entrance of the Federal Building and they planned to present a petition to Chief Assistant United States Attorney WILLIAM E. MERRILL at the entrance of the Federal Building.

[REDACTED] said that leaders of this demonstration would be MARTHA KOCIL and MARK M. [REDACTED] both of the Detroit Friends of SNCC. *Also h.*

On October 4, 1964, [REDACTED] advised that MARTHA KOCIL is a member of the Youth for Deberry and Shaw.

Youth for Deberry and Shaw is publicly advertised as a committee endorsing the candidacy of JACQUES M. DEBERRY, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) candidate for President of the United States, and LARRY SHAW, the SWP candidate for Vice-President of the United States.

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The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The "Detroit News", a daily newspaper, in its edition of September 8, 1966, contained an article captioned, "4 Negro Group Leaders Split on Meaning of 'Black Power'". This article in part goes on to quote DOROTHY DEWBERRY as saying Negroes must have power even if they must resort to violence to get it. They have been crying out for attention but have been ignored. When they throw bricks everybody wants to help them. The article also quoted DEWBERRY as saying Negroes cannot form coalitions if they have not power. We must get together under our own structures. Negroes have to overcome their shyness about their blackness. That is why whites have had to be removed from leadership positions in many organizations. When a Negro sees whites in leadership positions within his own organizations it is difficult for him to feel that he can replace that leadership, however, DEWBERRY said her position was much more applicable to the south than to the north. But, there has been violence in the north she said and there will be more. Negroes have been doing the right things for a long time and crying out for help and no one would listen. When he sees that he can throw a brick and get that attention he will throw the brick. The Negroes' only strength, DEWBERRY said, is in his large numbers in the country.

[REDACTED] advised on September 6, 1966, that the local chapter of SNCC is a small, inefficient and disorganized group with known Communist Party (CP) members in its membership. [REDACTED] advised it does not hold regular meetings. Source stated the local SNCC Chapter

has not sponsored any demonstrations and its activity has been primarily limited to collecting of clothing to send to the Negroes in the southern states. Source advised that local "hate groups" such as Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) and the Nation of Islam (NOI) have not expressed any interest in associating with SNCC and that RAM and the NOI exert no influence over SNCC.

A characterization of RAM and of the NOI are contained in the appendix attached hereto.

B. Ann Arbor, Michigan

DONALD CHARLES WILKINSON and FRANK DAVIS { *Mich*
HAURWITZ on June 21, 1965, visited the Ann Arbor, Michigan Resident Agency of the FBI, WILKINSON and HAURWITZ identified themselves as University of Michigan (UM) students and members of the UM Friends of SNCC. They presented a petition to the United States Attorney General (USAG), requesting that same be forwarded. The text of the petition criticized the role of the Department of Justice in Civil Rights matters in Mississippi.

Subsequently, several other persons, who identified themselves as members of the SNCC or CORE organizations, contacted the FBI, both telephonically and personally to verify the receipt of the above-described petition to the USAG.

Later on that same day, JOSEPH DECKER HARRISON and EDWARD GEFNER, identifying themselves as Field Secretary, and Head of the UM Friends of SNCC respectively, contacted the Ann Arbor, Michigan Resident Agency to verify receipt of the above-described petition and transmittal of same to the USAG.

[REDACTED] advised on June 18, 1965, the UM Friends of SNCC is one of several functions of the UM Campus Student Organization, known as the Voice Political Party (VVP). He advised that the VPP is the UM Campus affiliate of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

A characterization of the SDS appears in the appendix attached hereto.

[REDACTED]
and [REDACTED] have furnished the following information regarding HARRISON. He

[REDACTED]
was a member of the CP in May, 1950;
was described as a Communist in 1951.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
In December, 1960, he traveled to Cuba with a Fair Play for Cuba sponsored Christmas tour.

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A characterization of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee is contained in the appendix attached hereto.

The "Ann Arbor News", a daily newspaper of general circulation, dated March 11, 1965, contains an article indicating that JOSEPH D. HARRISON, Field Secretary, for SNCC, was arrested on March 10, 1965, by the Ann Arbor Police on warrants charging him with non-support and with traffic violations. According to this article, HARRISON pled guilty to the non-support charge and remanded to the Washtenaw County Jail when he was unable to post bond.

On June 22, 1965, EDWARD GEFNER contacted the Ann Arbor, Michigan Resident Agency of the FBI, requesting an appointment on June 23, 1965, for himself and several others.

On June 23, 1965, Special Agents of the FBI at the Ann Arbor, Michigan Resident Agency of the FBI, jointly interviewed the following individuals:

JOSEPH DAVID HARRISON
EDWARD GEFNER
Mrs. BETTY POWELL of CORE *Mich.*

These three individuals were subsequently joined in this interview by one Reverend COLIN CAMPBELL, who identified himself as a Minister of the Episcopal Church, Ann Arbor, Michigan. He disclaimed any organizational affiliation, stating he was simply an interested citizen who requested to join the above-named individuals. Near the end of the interview, the above-named individuals were joined by DONALD CHARLES WILKINSON, who identified himself as a member of SNCC.

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In this interview GEFNER appeared to assume the role of spokesman for the group.

The points raised by this group of individuals were as follows:

1. A discussion of the prosecutive policies of the Department of Justice in the South with the desire expressed for more aggressive prosecution. Persons interviewed were given the distinction between the FBI and the United States Department of Justice and that the FBI was strictly an investigative fact-finding agency which had no authority with regard to prosecutive action taken on the basis of investigations conducted. Persons interviewed were told that interviewing agents could not speak for the United States Department of Justice with regard to prosecutive matters or policies.
2. A question as to why FBI witnessing police brutality in Civil Rights demonstrations in the south do not make "citizens arrests" for crimes committed in their presence. The group discussed the question of a "citizens arrest" and the responsibilities involved in the same. The interviewing agents explained Bureau procedure in arrest situations.
3. A question as to whether the FBI did look for missing civil rights workers in the south. Again the FBI's jurisdiction was carefully explained and specific reference was made to the accomplishments in this area.

4. They inquired if violations of Civil Rights occurring in the South may be initiated at any FBI Office, irrespective of where the alleged offense occurred and irrespective of whether the person making the complaint was the victim in the violation. The group was advised that any complaint of a Civil Rights violation as with any other allegation of a violation concerning FBI jurisdiction, would be received at any FBI Office.
5. Whether this group could submit in writing questions to the Justice Department concerning the prosecution of Civil Rights matters in the South, and to make such demands through the Michigan FBI Office. Interviewing agents advised this group any request of the Department of Justice should more properly be directed to the Attorney General or the local United States Attorney's Office.

With reference to the above, HARRISON stated that his organization has a group of SNCC Civil Rights workers who will travel from the UM to engage in Civil Rights activities in Mississippi during the summer of 1965. He said these questions were posed to secure the safety of such individuals.

HARRISON stated that he had in the past met with former Attorney General ROBERT KENNEDY and the Assistant Attorney General in a national meeting with Civil Rights groups regarding these same complaints on Federal Actions in the Civil Rights field discussed above. He said his group received no satisfaction in that conference regarding these concerns.

He said in this conference a representative of the USAG's Office, whom he did not identify, advised his group that it was not politically feasible to enforce some Civil Rights laws and that without a national police force, there was insufficient manpower to handle all Civil Rights violations. This alleged representative of the USAG's Office, according to HARRISON, said that many of these matters fell within the province of local and state jurisdiction for endorsement.

GEFFNER and HARRISON remarked concerning the above, that if the USAG considers prosecution of Civil Rights cases as a matter of "Political Feasibility", their own efforts might better be directed to changing the "Political Climate".

On conclusion of this interview, this group indicated their intention of further contact, personally or through correspondence with the USAG, the United States Attorney, Detroit, Michigan, and/or with United States Congressman for the State of Michigan WES VIVIAN, with whom they stated current contact.

[REDACTED] advised on August 18, 1966, that some 16 individuals, including ERIC CHESTER, KENNETH FINEMAN, and EDWARD GEFFNER, identified respectively as leaders of UM campus groups, W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA), SDS and the UM Friends of SNCC, held a demonstration in the Administration Building of the UM, Ann Arbor, Michigan, August 18, 1966. He advised that a "handout" distributed by the demonstrators stated their intention to "sit in" the office of the top available UM Administrator until their demands were answered. The purpose of the demonstration was stated as resentment at the UM release of confidential membership data to the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) on subpoena regarding UM campus groups, SDS, DCA, and the Committee to Aid the Vietnamese (CAV). *Mich.*

Characterizations of the SDS and DCA appear in the appendix attached hereto.

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The CAV organization was described by [REDACTED] on August 18, 1966, as a UM Campus organization active during 1965, in the solicitation of funds and sale of articles of alleged Viet Cong origin on the UM Campus. Funds obtained from these activities were announced as intended for distribution for medical aid to Vietnamese in areas under National Liberation Front Control.

C. East Lansing, Michigan

On August 12, 1965, September 16, 1965, and October 29, 1965, [REDACTED] advised that SNCC has been officially recognized in the past as a campus organization, but has not been active to date. [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] advised him that the SNCC charter had been dissolved and to date there has been no request for a new charter.

[REDACTED] furnished a copy of the SNCC constitution and also an alleged membership list for this chapter, which was obtained from the Student Activities Office of Michigan State University (MSU). [REDACTED] pointed out that this list contains names of individuals who appeared on an original list provided MSU when petitioning for a charter to operate as an on campus organization and could be the signatures of people other than those indicated.

The following are the names of the individuals on this list:

JEAN MYBLAD
MAUREEN-LACK
SANDY-FELDMAN
SANDRA JENKINS
ELDRIDGE-SUGGS

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JON THORNELL
MAURICE JONES
DOROTHY ATKINS
KARIN BRENTLEY
BILL PRITCHARD
JANE HENRY
JERRY CROSBY
PAT SMITH
MELVIN MOORE
JAMES GEE
CONNIE HEATON
BEVERLY EPPS
JOLYNNE GAPP
KAY QUINLAN
TED MOCOLSO
GEORGE KNOX
PHIL BALLBACH
MIRIAM PETERSON
CYNTHIA JEFFRIES
RICHARD LETTS
DIANE LEVY
GRACE SEASE
JOANNE HOFFMAN

JON THORNELL



The name JON THORNELL appeared on this list of names.

A characterization of the Young Socialist Club appears in the appendix attached hereto.

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SANDRA JENKINS

Mich.

The "Michigan State News", in its edition of May 5, 1964, contained an article captioned "'Fast For Freedom' Today To Aid SNCC." This article went on, in part, to state that mass demonstrations of sympathy for the Southern Negro cause would take place today in the area between the library and the Union on the campus of MSU. It said that the campus National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) is sponsoring the all university protests in advance of a fund drive, to be held on Thursday, to support Negro voter registration in Hattiesburg, Mississippi. This article further stated that SANDRA JENKINS, Birmingham, Alabama, Sophomore Chairman, said that the demonstrations were being held to "make the campus aware and emotionally involved" in the struggle for voting rights in the South. The article said that student and faculty members will take a "Fast for Freedom" approach by giving up their noon meal to participate in the protest.

The "Michigan State News", in its edition of April 28, 1965, contained an article captioned "Rights Group Plan Bias Protest Here". This article stated, in part, that three campus Civil Rights organizations have announced they will picket the home of Mrs. WALTER A. GIBSON, in East Lansing, Michigan, in an effort to pressure the City Council into passing an Open Housing Ordinance. The article stated that Mrs. GIBSON, after advertising rooms for rent with the university, allegedly refused to rent a room to SANDRA JENKINS, Birmingham Junior, and other individuals, when she found that Miss JENKINS was a Negro.

On May 25, 1965, SANDRA JENKINS participated in a demonstration sit-in protest of alleged housing discrimination in East Lansing. She was one of 75 MSU students who participated and was arrested by the East Lansing Police Department on this date as one of the

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59 male and female demonstrators who were all charged with violation of an East Lansing City Ordinance of blocking streets and failure to allow free movement of traffic,

- SANDRA JENKINS, on May 26, 1965, pled not guilty to the above charge and was released on \$25.00 bond.

MAURICE JONES, PAT SMITH, and MAUREEN LACK also participated in the above-mentioned demonstration and were arrested. JONES pled not guilty and was released on \$50.00 bond. SMITH and LACK pled not guilty and were released on their own recognizance.

V. APPEARANCES OF SNCC NATIONAL LEADERS IN MICHIGAN

On August 1, 1966, [REDACTED] advised STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke at Cobo Hall, Detroit, on July 30, 1966. CARMICHAEL's appearance in Detroit was sponsored by the Detroit Baptist Ministers and Negro Ministers of Detroit.

Mich.

[REDACTED] stated that during the course of CARMICHAEL's speech he in part stated that, "We are in a period of integration. It is a period of coalition-Negroes and their white friends the liberals. The whites say 'Only through me shall you have integration'. Real integration would be for the white man to come into the Ghettos, the Negro schools and back into the Negro situation. It is time to stop singing, 'We Shall Overcome'. We need to take our successful blacks out of the white society and bring them back into the black world. The white college friends say they are fighting with us but they are only fighting to smoke 'pot' while the Negro is fighting for his life." He further stated that, "It's time for us to use the 'black power' to gain our freedom. Non-violence in the Negro community should be practiced on Friday and Saturday nights when we fight one another. It should stay in the Negro community and no where else. 'Whitey' thinks no one can hate them but it's time to change now. It's time to move and roll over anyone who gets in our way'.

[REDACTED] advised on September 26, 1966, that an appearance of STOKELY CARMICHAEL on the campus of the UM, Ann Arbor, Michigan, has been sought in recent weeks by the VPP which he described as the UM campus affiliate of the SDS. He advised that the initiation of this effort was made by Professor ARNOLD KAUFMAN, UM, who in a VPP recent meeting noted that the SNCC was struggling for its survival and needed an infusion of support and assistance.

[REDACTED] advised on September 26, 1966, that ARNOLD KAUFMAN, Professor of Philosophy, UM, was one of the initiators of the national "teach-in" movement protesting United States intervention in Vietnam and was one of the founders and principal activists in the Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy (IUCDFP) which he described as a national organization at Ann Arbor, Michigan, aimed at altering United States foreign policy through the efforts of the academic and intellectual community, nationally, and to some degree internationally.

[REDACTED] advised September 26, 1966, that the UM appearance of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, current National Head of SNCC, was announced at the UM, September 23, 1966, as under the joint sponsorship of the Office of Religious Affairs (ORA), UM, and the UM Friends of SNCC organization.

[REDACTED] advised that UM Friends of SNCC organization is an action committee of the SDS, UM Chapter, which functions under the chairmanship of EDWARD GEFFNER of the UM.

[REDACTED] advised on the same date that EDWARD GEFFNER of the UM was identified to him in April, 1966, as a member of the newly formed DCA Club, UM, on its founding in April of 1966.

[REDACTED] advised on September 27, 1966, that STOKELY CARMICHAEL spoke at Hill Auditorium on the UM campus, September 27, 1966, at 3:00 p.m. His formal speech lasted for 45 minutes with an approximate 30 minute question and answer period following. The informant noted the auditorium has a seating capacity of 4,200 and that CARMICHAEL spoke to an overflow audience estimated at perhaps 4,500. He advised that CARMICHAEL in his speech and the question and answer session, made comments essentially as follows:

He began his speech by noting that ABRAHAM LINCOLN was actually not the "great emancipator" because LINCOLN had actually agreed at one time to keep "the black man" in servitude and that during the Civil War a Union general actually was responsible for freeing the slaves in three southern states. He stated that the cause of the Civil War was not really over the question of slavery but rather was caused by the then present economic situation in the nation. He said he was pleased that "peace groups" had invited him on this occasion and was pleased that "peace groups" were interested in and sympathized with him and his organization SNCC.

He stated that SNCC was interested in the political and economic situation of the "black man" and in raising the standards of living for the "black man" in the ghettos of our large cities. He said that the term "black power" has been misinterpreted by all of the United States news media and explained that by obtaining "black power" the "black man" can control his own destiny.

He stated that no "black man" should fight in Vietnam. He noted that the United States Government was spending 37 billion dollars in Vietnam to kill people and to destroy that country. He stated that good money could be used to reconstruct the "ghettos" and to raise the standard of living of the "black man".

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He further commented that the "black man" should not have the "white man" in his ghettos supervising his work there. He criticized the United States Poverty Program as doing just this. He stated that President JOHNSON thought that he would capture the five million votes of the "black man" when he signed the Civil Rights Bill and he noted that this has "backfired on him" now.

He noted that people in Watts and other areas where racial riots had occurred were tired of oppression and brutality and have decided to do something about it. He described Doctor MARTIN LUTHER KING as a "pacifist" who stood for "non-violence" and described himself as an "activist" who stands for "action".

In his appearance CARMICHAEL was moderate in tone, well received by his audience, which was a mixed student-faculty audience. CARMICHAEL presented a controlled speech and was humorous on numerous occasions.

The "Detroit Free Press", a Detroit daily newspaper, in its edition of September 23, 1966, carried the following article concerning CARMICHAEL's speech in Detroit:

1,000 Cheer Carmichael In Detroit

Why don't people like Cassius Clay, the heavyweight champion of the world? "Because the white community says a black man's crazy any time he says, 'I'm the greatest,'" according to Stokely Carmichael, the militant young civil rights leader.

Carmichael, who has popularized the slogan "Black Power," spoke to a cheering crowd of 1,000 in the United Central Church of Christ at Linwood and Hogarth Tuesday night.

THE PROBLEM is not the word 'power,'" said Carmichael, head of the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee. "But the problem comes when the word 'black' is put in front of it. America has never been able to stand an arrogant black man."

As examples, Carmichael mentioned Cassius Clay and Rep. Adam Clayton Powell.

He said white people have no right to tell Negroes that Powell steals. "They stole us," he said, adding that white people "say nothing about Sen. Eastland stealing our lives in Mississippi."

Negroes should unite," said Carmichael, to use collective power to get better schools for children, to build their communities, to go into the slums and build businesses there.

And when Negroes achieve black power, he said, "make sure the profits stay there and not go to the whites."

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On January 18, 1967, [REDACTED] advised that he attended the conference on "Racism in White America" at the Central Methodist Church, 22 East Adams Street, Detroit, Michigan, on January 18, 1967. Source advised that from 9 A.M. until 10:30 A.M., was the registration period. There were approximately 250 persons in attendance, 175 were white and 75 were Negro. The two principal speakers were SAM DAVIDALINSKY, Director of the Industrial Areas Foundation and STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Each registrant was issued a packet containing a time schedule of the conference and two pamphlets, one authored by AMERIK* and the other by CARMICHAEL. mich.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL was the second speaker and remarked that the police are not concerned with violence among black people as long as this violence is contained among black people. CARMICHAEL advised that in America even the word black is prejudice and went on to point out that everything black in the English language has a negative connotation such as black list and blackball. CARMICHAEL stated that what is good for the country is not necessarily good for black people or poor people. He remarked that the poor white must be organized and that the poor black must be organized and that then they must realize that they are dependent on one another to better their situation. CARMICHAEL remarked that the two major political parties in the United States represent the power structure and that there is a definite need for a third political party. Later during the question and answer period of the conference questions as to the need for a third party were directed at both DAVIDALINSKY and CARMICHAEL and both CARMICHAEL and DAVIDALINSKY declined further comment.

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CARMICHAEL remarked that the Chase Manhattan Bank which controls Africa is owned by the ROCKEFELLER family because of their large stockholdings and that interest from these African investments are used by the ROCKEFELLER family to pacify the American Negro. CARMICHAEL said that violence is not always evil as the white man thinks and that the Negro is no longer the executioner. CARMICHAEL said that this was a conference of clergy and key lay people and that the church in America will lose a lot of influence because of their lack of participation in the Negro revolution. He further remarked that the lay people are gaining more and more influence over the church organizations in America. He stated that in two years society will be run by the middle class. CARMICHAEL stated that if the Negro had the power to tax in America he would increase taxes on property and industry for the Negro has none and that if then the people could not meet their tax obligations the property should then be redistributed equally.

On February 2, 1967, [REDACTED] advised that on February 8, 1967, STANLEY CARMICHAEL, the National Leader of SNCC, was the featured speaker at a meeting sponsored jointly by the civil rights organizations, SNCC and the Afro-American group, held at the East Grand Boulevard Methodist Church, 1101 East Grand Boulevard, Detroit, Michigan.

The source stated that the meeting was attended by approximately 500 persons, one-third of whom were white. An announcement was made that \$262.24 had been collected at the meeting and this money was turned over to the local branch of SNCC.

[REDACTED] advised that CARMICHAEL began speaking at approximately 10:00 p.m. and spoke for 40 minutes. CARMICHAEL appeared to be quite exhausted and somewhat disheveled to the extent that one young man

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in the audience asked him to straighten his tie because he would be on television and would be representing the group. CARROLL stated he would not serve in Vietnam only to return to this country and be a second class citizen. He stressed that Negroes must organize; that President JOHNSON's law enforcement program was designated to suppress the Negro and that any killing of a Negro must be retaliated; that this was his last year running around the world organizing the black man and that this year is the last chance for the Uncle Toms to join for the door will be closed.

CARROLL remarked that dropping the atomic bomb on Nagasaki was the white man's attempt to suppress the orientals, the the Puerto Ricans were struggling for self-government but the United States was suppressing their freedom. CARROLL said that the Puerto Ricans could not use their own bathing beaches without permission from United States military authorities, and that Puerto Ricans were being drafted to fight in Vietnam even though Puerto Rico is not a state.

On August 27, 1967 [REDACTED] advised of the arrival and appearance of R. RAY BROWN in Detroit on this date. Further, that when BROWN arrived at the Detroit Metropolitan Airport the news media was present and attempted to photograph and interview RAY BROWN. A photographer attempting to photograph BROWN was struck by one of the Negro males escorting BROWN from the airport and other photographers and newsmen were shoved and pushed as BROWN left the airport with his escorts. RAY BROWN's appearance at Detroit was at the Dexter Community Theater, 11600 Dexter, Detroit. A rally was scheduled to be held at this location on this date which was to have been sponsored by the recently formed Negro militant newspaper known as the "Inner-City Voice". Upon BROWN's arrival at this location an estimated 700 individuals were crowded into the theater and an

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estimated 1,500 to 2,000 people, the majority of whom were Negroes, were gathered on the street in front of the theater. This theater is located in the general area of the site where rioting took place beginning on July 23, 1967. BROWN, upon being introduced at the theater, stated that he did not desire to have any whites in the audience, at which time an estimated six whites in attendance left the theater. The news media had been previously barred from the scene.

BROWN stated that Detroit is now known for the rioting which took place in Detroit. However, he stated that the riots which took place in Detroit and other cities throughout the United States are not riots, they are rebellions. He praised the recent riots in Newark, New Jersey, and stated that the only reason the rioting was successful in Newark was because of the fact that the Negroes had guns. He stated that America wanted these riots and now they will get them. He stated that either we will have a free America or we will have no America.

He referred constantly to the phrase that Negroes are being "chumps" and was highly critical of all whites ranging from COLUMBUS to President LYNDON B. JOHNSON. He was critical of former President JOHN F. KENNEDY and made a number of derogatory remarks regarding President JOHNSON. He concluded his speech at approximately 5:45 p.m. and at 6:10 p.m. briefly addressed the crowd estimated at from 1,500 to 2,000 congregated in front of the theater.

The comments made by BROWN to the crowd outside the theater were essentially the same as those made to the audience inside the theater. The crowd outside of the theater did not appear to respond to the comments

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made by BROWN and few in the crowd applauded when he advocated war on white America. The majority of the crowd outside the theater appeared to be merely curious relative to RAP BROWN, in view of all the recent publicity afforded him and was very noisy during his brief speech.

BROWN terminated his speech when several bottles were hurled at his general direction by some individuals in the crowd, at which time the crowd dispersed from the immediate area of the theater.

APPENDIX

FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE

The April 6, 1960, edition of "The New York Times" newspaper contained a full-page advertisement captioned "What Is Really Happening in Cuba", placed by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC). This advertisement announced the formation of the FPCC in New York City and declared the FPCC intended to promulgate "the truth about revolutionary Cuba" to neutralize the distorted American press.

"The New York Times" edition of January 11, 1961, reported that at a hearing conducted before the United States Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on January 10, 1961, Dr. CHARLES A. SANTOS-BUCH identified himself and ROBERT MARBE as organizers of the FPCC. He also testified he and MARBE obtained funds from the Cuban Government which were applied toward the cost of the aforementioned advertisements.

On May 16, 1963, a source advised that during the first two years of the FPCC's existence there was a struggle between Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) elements to exert their power within the FPCC and thereby influence FPCC policy. This source added that during the past year there had been a successful effort by FPCC leadership to minimize the role of these and other organizations in the FPCC so that their influence as of May, 1963, was negligible.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On May 20, 1963, a second source advised that VINCENT "TED" LEE, FPCC National Office Director, was then formulating FPCC policy and had indicated that he had no intention of permitting FPCC policy to be determined by any other organization. This source stated that LEE believed that the FPCC should advocate resumption of diplomatic relations between Cuba and the United States and should support the right of Cubans to manage their revolution without interference from other nations. LEE did not advocate supporting the Cuban revolution per se.

2

The November 23, 1963, edition of "The New York Times" reported that Senator THOMAS J. DODD of Connecticut had called FPCC "The chief public relations instrument of the CASTRO network in the United States". It is to be noted that Senator DODD was a member of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee which twice conducted hearings on the FPCC.

The December 27, 1963, edition of "The New York World Telegram and Sun" newspaper stated that the pro-CASTRO FPCC was seeking to go out of business and that its prime activity during its lifetime had been sponsorship of pro-CASTRO street rallies and mass picket lines and the direction of an active propaganda mill highlighting illegal travel-to-Cuba campaigns. Its comparatively brief span of life was attributed to mounting anti-CASTRO American public opinion, the 1962 Congressional hearings which disclosed FPCC financing by CASTRO's United Nations Delegation, and ultimately, the bad publicity which the FPCC received from disclosure of activities on its behalf by suspected presidential assassin LEE H. OSWALD.

On February 6, 1964, the previously mentioned second source advised that V. T. LEE had recently remarked that the FPCC was dead and that there were no plans to organize another similar organization.

On April 13, 1964, a third source advised that there had not been any FPCC activity in many months and that the FPCC had been dissolved.

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM, Formerly Referred to as
THE MUSLIM CULT OF ISLAM, also known
as MUHAMMAD'S TEMPLES OF ISLAM

In January, 1957 a source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam".

On May 5, 1967 a second source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 MUHAMMAD and other NOI officials, when referring to MUHAMMAD's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam".

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. MUHAMMAD claims to have been selected by ALLAH, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following MUHAMMAD's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro, the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils", in the United States; and the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon".

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including MUHAMMAD, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1968 the first source advised MUHAMMAD had, upon advice of legal counsel, amended his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental change to the teachings of his organization.

On May 2, 1968 a third source advised MUHAMMAD had, in early July, 1968, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to MUHAMMAD, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT

On November 3, 1964 a source made available a document entitled "The Revolutionary Action Movement Manifesto". The document having been obtained by the source from an individual known to be a member of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM).

This document stated, in part, that RAM was officially organized in the winter of 1963 by Afro-Americans who support the revolutionary objectives of ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, then residing in Cuba, and his concept of organized violence to achieve the liberation of the Afro-American people in the United States. This Manifesto disclosed that RAM had oriented its program to one of education and political revolution and the organization of a "black" political party with revolutionary objectives, having recognized the need for a "black revolution" that could and would seize power. RAM philosophy is described in this document as one of revolutionary nationalism; that is, one involving the struggles of the nonwhite races of the world against exploitation and enslavement by the white capitalist and imperialist nations.

Regarding WILLIAMS, it should be noted that on August 28, 1961 a Federal warrant was issued at Charlotte, North Carolina charging him with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the crime of kidnapping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, WILLIAMS fled the United States to Cuba where he published a monthly newsletter entitled "The Crusader" from Havana. As of December, 1960, WILLIAMS was residing in Peking, China.

This source in September, 1964 advised RAM is dedicated to the overthrow of the capitalist system in the United States by violence, if necessary, and to its replacement by a socialist system oriented toward the Chinese Communist interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. RAM is entirely nonwhite in membership, clandestine in nature, and owes its primary allegiance to the "Bandung World"; that is, the nonwhite races of the world rather than to any national entity, as such.

On November 16, 1964 a second source advised he learned recently from a RAM member that the organization began in Detroit, Michigan largely under the impetus of COV FREEMAN, described as the "Father" of RAM and referred to as RAM's "Black Stalin". FREEMAN served as RAM Chairman, with MAYFIELD STANFORD (now of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) serving as RAM Field Chairman.

APPENDIX

2

On May 12, 1967 a third source advised that the RAM still remains active; however, there is no formal headquarters, as such, for the RAM. The source advised that MAXWELL STANFORD of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is considered the leader of RAM and if a RAM headquarters ever existed, it would most likely be where STANFORD resides.

1APPENDIXSTUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) as it is known today came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us". At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-Communist proviso was removed from the SDS Constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes", the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some Communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source advised that on October 26 - 27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19 - 21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E. B. Du Bois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.

The second source advised in September, 1966 that MIKE ZACARELL, CPUSA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966, that DANIEL RUBIN, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working-class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, advised that GUS HALL, CPUSA General Secretary, indicated the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

A third source advised in September, 1967 that JARVIS TYNER was elected Chairman of the DCA on September 10, 1967 at the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8 - 10, 1967.

A fourth source advised during August, 1967 that JARVIS TYNER is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

A fifth source advised on September 21, 1967 that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 17th Street, New York, New York.

APPENDIX

YOUNG SOCIALIST CLUB OF WAYNE COUNTY (YSC)
also known as, Wayne University Young Socialist Club; Wayne Young Socialist Club; Young Socialist Club

A Source advised in 1955, 1956, and 1957, that the Young Socialist Club of Wayne County, also known as Wayne University Young Socialist Club, Wayne Young Socialist Club, and Young Socialist Club (YSC) was organized on the campus of the Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan, in the fall of 1954 through the efforts of the Detroit Branch, Socialist Workers Party (SWP). As a result of the University's action in banning the YSC from the campus in the spring of 1956, the YSC adopted the name Young Socialist Club of Wayne County and continued to function by using the facilities of the SWP for its headquarters.

This Source advised that the YSC has been controlled and directed by members of the SWP from its inception to the present time. The purpose of the YSC was to afford the SWP an opportunity to make contacts, recruit members into the SWP, and spread propaganda among the students and other young people.

The constitution of the YSC states its purpose "shall be to unite young students, workers, and members of minority groups who wish to build and participate in an independent, militant, socialist group. It shall engage in a broad program of political, educational, and social activities, bringing socialist ideas to young people in an atmosphere of free and open discussion.

Another source advised on August 20, 1958, that the YSC was officially dissolved on August 18, 1958, as a tactical move by the youth fraction of the Detroit Branch SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Detroit, Michigan

January 5, 1968

X

Title	Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
Character	Internal Security - SNCC
Reference	Report, at Detroit, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

NOTED X

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Reporting Office DETROIT	Office of Origin ATLANTA	Date 4/30/68	Investigative Period 1/4 - 4/18/68
TITLE OF CASE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)		Report made by SA [REDACTED]	Typed by klh
		CHARACTER OF CASE RACIAL MATTERS	

REFERENCE: Report of SA [REDACTED] at Detroit, dated 1/5/68

- P -

LEAD

DETROIT

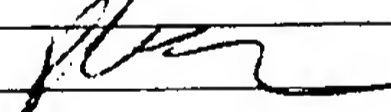
AT DETROIT, MICHIGAN

Will follow and report SNCC activities in Michigan.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS:

Pending over one year:

Pending prosecution over six months:

Approved 	Special Agent in Charge	Do not write in spaces below			
Copies made: (10) - Bureau (100-439190) (RM) 1 - G-2, Detroit (RM) 1 - NIS, Chicago (RM) 1 - OSI, Dayton (RM) 2 - Atlanta (100-6488) (RM) 2 - Detroit (100-31374)		100-	439190	-15-	18
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AGENCY: ACSI, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV.,

DEPT: ISD, CRD, RAO, IDIU, CRIM, STATE, CHA, H, PI

HOW FORW: 115

DATE FORW: 5/16/68

BY: per [REDACTED]

RACIAL INT. SECT.

2 Xerox copies, 816 940

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ADMINISTRATIVE

Characterizations of individuals mentioned in this report were utilized where available.

One copy of this report is being designated for dissemination locally to G-2, NIS, and OSI.

This report has been classified ~~confidential~~ since information appearing therein from most sources is from sources of continuing value whose exposure could be harmful to the national defense interest.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

Location

This report, pages

157-2209-5

DE 100-31374

Identity of Source

Location

157-2209-5

157-2209-5

157-2209-5

157-2258-2

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100-31374-513

100-34122-84

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to: 1 - G-2, Detroit (REGISTERED MAIL)
1 - NIS, Chicago (REGISTERED MAIL)
1 - OSI, Dayton (REGISTERED MAIL)

Report of: SA [REDACTED]
Date: 4/30/68

Office: Detroit, Michigan

File Number: 100-31374

Bufile: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis: Detroit Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Office located at 12326 Dexter, Detroit. DOROTHY DEWBERRY is the recognized leader of Detroit SNCC and is assisted by LONNIE PEEK and DANIEL ALDRIDGE. SNCC activities in the Detroit area have escalated in recent months. SNCC-sponsored demonstrations during March and April, 1968, and information regarding STOKELY CARMICHAEL's appearance at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, during March, 1968, and other miscellaneous SNCC activities set out.

- P -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP I
Excluded from Automatic
Downgrading and
Declassification

DETAILS:

A characterization of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) appears in the appendix attached hereto.

I. BACKGROUND INFORMATION REGARDING DETROIT SNCC

On March 21, 1968, [REDACTED] advised of the following information regarding SNCC activities in the Detroit area:

DOROTHY DEWBERRY is the recognized leader of Detroit SNCC and is assisted by LONNIE PEEK and DANIEL ALDRIDGE. The Detroit SNCC Office is located at 12326 Dexter, Detroit. In recent months, SNCC in Detroit has become a more cohesive unit. Their activities have escalated with the additional organizational assistance of LONNIE PEEK and DANIEL ALDRIDGE. In the past, under the leadership of DOROTHY DEWBERRY, Detroit SNCC was the most part a dormant group. Its purpose now appears to be following the trends established by SNCC national leaders H. RAP BROWN and STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

The militancy of Detroit SNCC including its most recent attempts to attract and recruit high school students in its demonstrations is obvious.

Detroit SNCC is "an umbrella organization" for other local Black Nationalists groups. It has been described as not a "tight" membership organization, but rather as a coalition of individuals active or interested in various black people's advocates, views, and objectives, i.e., police brutality, arrest of H. RAP BROWN, national SNCC leader, and other Black Nationalists leaders either national or local in scope.

No exact membership figure is known, the reason for this being that it has no membership as such, but has followers, and these followers, although participating in SNCC-sponsored activities, need not necessarily be actual members.

II. SNCC-SPONSORED DEMONSTRATIONS

On March 20, 1968, at 4:10 p.m., Special Agents of the FBI observed a crowd, estimated at approximately 250 individuals, most of whom were Negro teenagers, gathered in a park area directly adjacent to the J.L. Hudson department store, Woodward and Grand River, Detroit, Michigan.

Placards reading "Rap Is In, Let's Get Him Out," "Release Rap Now," and "Support Brother Rap," were held by several demonstrators. Individuals identified as MARY VALENTINE

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and DANIEL ALDRIDGE addressed the gathering, urging them to rally in support of the release of H. RAP BROWN, national leader of the SNCC.

[REDACTED] advised on March 21, 1968, that MARY VALENTINE and DANIEL ALDRIDGE are members of the City-Wide Citizens Action Committee (CCAC), and that ALDRIDGE is a member of the local Detroit SNCC group.

[REDACTED] advised on January 5, 1968, that the CCAC came into existence shortly after the termination of the rioting in Detroit during the latter part of July, 1967. The organization is active only in the Detroit area and is led by Reverend ALBERT B. CLEAGE, JR., a local militant Black Nationalist minister and Attorney MILTON ROBINSON HENRY, a controversial militant Black Nationalist, who is a firm advocate of Black Power. The purpose of the organization is to gain control of all activities concerning the rebuilding of areas in Detroit destroyed during the July, 1967, rioting. The organization advocates the only Afro-Americans be allowed to operate the new establishments built in the areas destroyed by the riots and that Caucasians be prohibited from participating in the newly formed businesses in any manner. The organization advocates Black Power and is a constant critic of the Detroit Police Department, accusing that agency of police brutality and the City Government of Detroit, accusing the City of discriminating against the black man.

At 4:50 p.m., the crowd left the park area and proceeded enmasse to the entrance of the J.L. Hudson department store. The demonstrators entered the store and proceeded to the second floor chanting, "We want RAP," moved past the sporting goods department located on the second floor, then down to the first floor and outside.

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They again gathered in the same park adjacent to J.L. Hudson's at 5:05 p.m., where DANIEL ALDRIDGE instructed them to depart. Prior to departure, the demonstrators hooted and jeered at the Detroit Police Department officers.

[REDACTED] advised on March 20, 1968, that an undetermined small quantity of shotgun shells, which were laying in trays located on the counters in the sporting goods department, had been stolen as the demonstrators moved through that department.

[REDACTED] advised there were no arrests, no property damage, and no police action necessary during the demonstration.

Individuals who participated in the demonstration who were recognized by Special Agents of the FBI, in addition to those mentioned above, are KENNETH JOHN WATSON, DOROTHY DEWBERRY, LONNIE PEEK.

[REDACTED] on March 20, 1968, furnished the following information on WATSON, DEWBERRY, and PEEK:

KENNETH JOHN WATSON was active in the Detroit Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) group, a former member of the Fox and Wolf Hunt Club, a rifle group controlled and dominated by RAM, which was organized by RAM leader General GORDON BAKER, JR., and is currently editor of a local militant Black Nationalist newspaper called the "Inner City Voice".

A characterization of RAM appears in the appendix pages attached hereto.

DOROTHY DEWBERRY is the acknowledged leader of the local SNCC group, and a highly vocal militant Black Nationalist.

LONNIE PEEK is an associate of DEWBERRY, is active in the affairs of the CCAC, and was one of the organizers of a Black Symposium recently held at Wayne State University, Detroit. FLOYD MC KISSICK, national Congress of Racial Equality

leader, was among some of the militant Black Nationalist leaders who spoke at this symposium.

Also observed in the crowds by Special Agents of the FBI were DENA CLAMAGE, PETER WERBE, and NATE FUCHS.

[redacted] on March 20, 1968, advised that DENA CLAMAGE and PETER WERBE were local leaders for the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), and that NATE FUCHS is active in the affairs of SDS and also has participated in numerous local anti-Vietnam demonstrations. Source further advised that CLAMAGE recently traveled to Cuba, which travel was sponsored by the SDS.

A characterization of the SDS appears in the appendix pages attached hereto.

On March 25, 1968 [redacted] advised that the local chapter of SNCC was sponsoring a demonstration at the Federal Building in downtown Detroit, Michigan, at 2:00 p.m. on April 10, 1968. The purpose of the demonstration was to protest the arrests of militant Black Nationalists such as RAP BROWN, SNCC leader, GLANTON DOWDELL, associate of General GORDON BAKER, JR., HUEY NEWION, leader of the Black Panther Party in the California area, and other individuals connected with RAM who were arrested in New York City and Philadelphia, such as MAX STANFORD.

Characterizations of MAX STANFORD and RAM are contained in the appendix attached hereto.

On March 26, 1968 [redacted] advised that GLANTON DOWDELL was recently arrested by Detroit Secret Service Agents on a charge of possessing stolen Government bonds, and also was arrested by the Detroit Police Department during the summers of 1966 and 1967 while in the company of General GORDON BAKER, JR. Source noted that both of these arrests occurred while disturbances were taking place in Detroit, Michigan, and that as a result of their arrest during the summer of 1966, both DOWDELL and BAKER were convicted of a carrying a concealed weapon violation and subsequently sentenced to five years probation.

In connection with the above charge, LOWDELL was arraigned in United States District Court at Detroit, Michigan, on April 4, 1968, at which time personal bond of \$10,000.00 was conferred and no trial date was set by the court.

On April 10, 1968, [REDACTED] advised at 3:15 p.m., April 11, 1968, that the demonstration scheduled to be held at the Federal Building on this date was canceled by DOROTHY DEWBERRY, local SNCC leader, and her associates DANIEL ALDRIDGE, and LONNIE VASSIE BEEK [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] further advised there is no information available at this time to indicate that the local SNCC group plans to conduct a demonstration at the Federal Building on a later date.

ATTESTANCE OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL AT
WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY, KALAMAZOO,
MICHIGAN

On March 30, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL on this date arrived at the home of RICHARD R. SUTTON, 418 Woodward Avenue, Kalamazoo, Michigan, a student at Western Michigan University (WMU). SUTTON is president of the Black Action Movement (BAM), a chartered student organization at WMU. BAM sponsored the Midwestern Regional Conference on Black Power held at WMU March 29 to 31, 1968.

On March 31, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that the following comments, in substance, were made by STOKELY CARMICHAEL during CARMICHAEL's speech on the evening of March 30, 1968, at the University Auditorium, WMU, Kalamazoo, Michigan, at the Midwestern Regional Conference on Black Power:

"They talk about the confrontation between the western world and the Communist world. That's not the real confrontation - that's between blacks and whites.

"We'll tell that honkie you took it with a gun and we'll take it back with a gun. We must organize our people with guns since it's clear to us that white people intend to commit genocide upon us. We've got to have guns just in case they are getting ready to play cowboys and Negroes.

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"Mao Tse Tung says political power grows out of the barrel of a gun and he is right.

"I am not too impressed with Negroes at colleges. They come out of college like a white-wash. You can't even get a college student to pack a gun.

"We have to talk this year about survival. That's all.

Niggers have to get out in the street.

"We must have an undying love for our people. 'I' mean that you must be prepared to die for our people not for the white man.

"If you go to school, go to school for your people. Niggers who go to college to become professionals can contribute only to their own welfare.

"We have a lot of Uncle Toms. They are traitors and you kill traitors, but we should emphasize saving our brothers. It will tear us up inside, but we will have to kill them. We have to kill anyone who is against the masses of the people.

"This generation is the one which has got to start doing retaliation. The fires in Chicago were just the beginning.

"If 'Niggers' can't do nothing then 'obscene' they are going to have to stand up and die like men. They have been living on their stomachs too 'obscene' long.

"Why go to Vietnam? Die right here. We're the war zone. The hockies are not.

"Kennedy is trying to put us to sleep. That's right. The Kennedys try to put us to sleep.

"In answer to a question from the floor as to what Carmichael would suggest the ROTC cadets and academy cadets do when they get into the Army, Carmichael said:

"Now there are two things they can do. Number one, if they really have an undying love for their people, they can take their training and use it for training for their people. Number two, they can take their training and use it for their people. If they can't do that, they should get out. Get out. Tell the hockies, No. Stand up and say no for once. Just tell them no, it makes you feel good."

Mr. Robert also said that "you must take five years in jail or death. At least you're on your feet. That's important. Now, because if a 'Nigger' can be a man once in his life, he should die for that."

At 10:33 p.m., March 30, 1968, Special Agents of the FBI observed CARMICHAEL leave the University Auditorium, WMD. CARMICHAEL was accompanied by four Negro males. They drove directly to 418 Woodward Avenue, Kalamazoo, Michigan, arriving there at 10:40 p.m. Numerous Negroes were observed entering and departing from that residence while CARMICHAEL was present.

14. MISCELLANEOUS SNCC ACTIVITY

The January 22, 1968 issue of "Inner City Voice", volume one number four, on page six contained an article captioned "SNCC at the FA". Contents of this article are set out as follows:

SNCC AT THE U N

FOREMAN RAPS IMPERIALISM

We have received a wealth of information from Brother James Foreman, International Affairs Director of SNCC on the monstrous colonial role of the U.S. imperialist government and its monopoly capitalist. We will present as much of this material as our space will allow. It is of great importance that you understand the role played by this country on the international level.

The following is the text of the last statement made by the delegation of SNCC at the United Nations Conference on Racism, Colonialism and Apartheid held in Kinshasa, Zambia, July 24 - August 4, 1967.

Mr. Chairman:

We, the representatives of SNCC, Howard Moore and myself, would like to take this last occasion to thank the United Nations Delegates for inviting us to this Seminar. We would especially like to thank Mr. Chairman, Mr. Malek, the Secretary, Mr. Reidy, the United Nations staff and the entire Government of Zambia for the consideration and courtesies extended to us.

Our appearance at this seminar marks a significant step in the struggle against racism, colonialism and apartheid, for it represents an official invitation to millions of Africans living in the United States to join their

struggle for freedom and liberty in the United States with that in Southern Africa. No matter what the experts and the United States Government may say, there is indeed an ineluctable nature to the struggle against apartheid, colonialism and racism throughout the world. Time has proven this and the future will only affirm our position on this issue.

In our opening statement, Mr. Chairman, we called upon the members of this Seminar to officially recognize that once the many delegates and the entire liberation movement here represented have expressed solidarity with our efforts in the United States. We call again for the moral support of the international community and we ask once more that this Seminar take special note of the struggle against racism and exploitation that African-Americans are waging within the United

States. If this action is taken, it will be of significance to the world community.

But, if it is not done, Mr. Chairman, I assure you that it will not deter in the slightest the Freedom Fight being waged in the United States, in the South and in the North, in the fields and in the ghettos, for we know that it is only through the blood of the oppressed and the oppressors that a people can win their freedom.

We are absolutely confident that our efforts within the United States is going to hasten Victory in Southern Africa and their revolutionary armed struggle is going to hasten a better life for their African brothers and sisters enslaved from Africa, transplanted in an alien culture, forced to build the so-called great Western Civilization which oppressed mankind. We know that it is from the sweat and the riches of Africans, among other people, that those who live high and mighty in Western capitals have derived their position.

Mr. Chairman, in speaking directly to the question of ways to deal with the problem politically, economically, militarily and diplomatically, we must express our full support of the resolutions introduced by the liberation organizations. For they represent the thought of many of those who are directly suffering from the inhuman effects of racism, apartheid, and colonialism. We express our support of the Algerian resolution calling upon the Member States of the United Nations to give moral and financial support to liberation movements in Southern Africa and we support the resolution of the delegation from Iraq calling upon the Economic and Social Council to mount a massive educational campaign.

Mr. Chairman, in our last presentation before this body we made certain recommendations which I would like to restate at this time.

1. That the ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY increase its support for the liberation struggle in Southern Africa.
2. That the General Assembly find ways to implement its many resolutions, including the implementation of those resolutions by force.

3. That the General Assembly recognize that the Permanent Security Council itself is composed mainly of those who are the chief supporters and perpetrators of racism, colonialism and apartheid, namely the United States, Great Britain and France. In this connection, it becomes mandatory for the General Assembly not to rely on these so-called Great Powers to condemn themselves, but members of the General Assembly, especially the Afro-Asian delegates must find ways and means to curtail their influence and even limiting their veto power.

4. That the United States withdraw its investment and civilians from South Africa before the stage of revolutionary and struggle reaches the point of killing United States citizens and blowing up United States investments, after which we will see undoubtedly the sorry sight of the United States war machinery going to help the regime of Vorster or his kind in the name of protecting some blond or blue-eyed American who is in trouble through the efforts of the "uncivilized" African to free himself from his oppressors.

Mr. Chairman, we state here publicly that our organization and the Africans who are citizens of the United States have been remiss, we have not done our duty in mobilizing as effectively as we could have public support in the United States to oppose the policies of the United States in South

Africa. We accept and make this criticism of ourselves, but we assure this worldly forum that we plan to correct this. We intend to mobilize public opinion on the grass roots level and to take other forms of action against the monster of colonialism, apartheid and racism.

In order to do this, we will need the full support of the United Nations and access to its many documents published and unpublished. We know that the United States government will try to block our efforts. It will try to stifle our attempt to link our struggle with that in Southern Africa. We are reminded that Malcolm X was killed when he attempted this. We know of the repressive laws against dissent in the United States.

Our brothers and sisters are dying in the streets of the United States as we utter these words. They are engaged in rebellions and revolts against white people have denied them their liberty and exploited our labor for centuries. Yet the United States representatives sit at this conference and talk about the winds of freedom blowing in the wind. There is indeed something blowing in the wind. It is blowing all over the world and that is a determination by the oppressed black, brown and colored people who form a world majority that the day of the white man exploiting all of us is over.

In Southern Africa, the cry has been raised by all voices: Freedom or Death. In the United States we too have decided that it was better to wage a fierce, unrelenting struggle than to live as neo-slaves in the twentieth century.

Mr. Chairman, we call once more upon all the delegates here assembled to notify their Governments the cry of the Afro-Americans is that there is an indivisible nature to the struggle against racism, apartheid and those of us in the United States are indeed victims of the same colonialism that established apartheid.

On February 7, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that a black symposium, sponsored by the Black Students Association, was held February 1 and 2, 1968, at Wayne State University (WSU), Detroit, Michigan.

At the February 1, 1968, session of this symposium, LONNIE PEEK, Chairman of the WSU Black Students Association, functioned as master of ceremony. PEEK said the symposium was the result of hard work, much of which was devoted to white university personnel who did not wish to see the black students in the community exercise self-determination.

He said the symposium was being held as a means of creating an awareness of the black students situation in the community.

PEEK said that there was a great need for increased awareness of Black Power and the potentials Black Power has for self-determination and the freedom of black people.

He also advised black people must continue to insist on the right of self-determination no matter what the cost.

[REDACTED] on March 21, 1968, advised that the Black Students Association is a militant Black Power group functioning on the campus of WSU, Detroit, Michigan.

[REDACTED] in February, 1968, advised the "Inner City Voice" is a militant Black Nationalist-type newspaper published in Detroit, Michigan. It commenced publication subsequent to termination of the 1967 Detroit riots. Its policy is anti-white and anti-Vietnam. The editor is KENNETH J. WATSON, who in the past was reported as being a member of the Detroit RAM group.

On March 5, 1968, [REDACTED] whose reliability and origin of this information is unknown, made available the following printed matter:

The black man in America is in a perpetual state of slavery no matter what the white man's propaganda tells us.

The black man in America is exploited and oppressed the same as his black brothers are all over the face of the earth by the same white man. We will never be free until we are all free and that means all black oppressed people all over the earth.

We are not alone in this fight, we are a part of the struggle for self-determination of all black men everywhere. We here in America must unite ourselves to be ready to help our brothers elsewhere.

We must first gain BLACK POWER here in America. Living inside the camp of the leaders of the enemy forces, it is our duty to our Brothers to revolt against the system and create our own system so that we can live as MEN.

We must take over the political and economic systems where we are in the majority in the heart of every major city in this country as well as in the rural areas. We must create our own black culture to erase the lies the white man has fed our minds from the day we were born.

THE BLACK MAN IN THE GHETTO WILL LEAD THE BLACK POWER MOVEMENT

The black Brother in the ghetto will lead the Black Power Movement and make the changes that are necessary for its success.

The black man in the ghetto has one big advantage that the bourgeois Negro does not have despite his 'superior' education. He is already living outside the value system white society imposes on all black Americans.

He has to look at things from another direction in order to survive. He is ready. He received his training in the streets, in the jails, from the ADC check his mother did not receive in time and the head-beatings he got from the cop on the corner.

Once he makes that first important discovery about the great pride you feel inside as a BLACK Man and the great heritage of the mother country, Africa, there is no stopping him from dedicating himself to fight the white man's system.

This is why the Black Power Movement is a true revolutionary movement with the power to change men's minds and unmask the tricks the white man has used to keep black men enslaved in modern society.

THE BOURGEOIS NEGRO CANNOT BE A PART OF THE BLACK POWER MOVEMENT

The bourgeois Negro has been force-fed the white man's propaganda and has lived too long in the half-world between white and phony black bourgeois society. He cannot think for himself because he is a shell of a man full of contradictions he cannot resolve. He is not to be trusted under any circumstances until he has proved himself to be 'cured.' There are a minute handful of these 'cured' bourgeois Negroes in the Black Power Movement and they are most valuable but they must not be allowed to take control. They are aware intellectually but under stress will react emotionally to the pressures of white society in the same way a white 'liberal' will expose an unconscious prejudice that he did not realize he possessed. - 13 -

WHAT BROTHER MALCOLM X TAUGHT US ABOUT OURSELVES

Malcolm X was the first black man from the ghetto in America to make a real attempt to get the white man's fist off the black man. He recognized the true dignity of man--without the white society prejudices about status, education and background that we all must purge from our minds.

Even today, in the Black Power Movement itself we find Brothers who look down on another Brother because of the conditions that life has imposed upon him. The most beautiful thing that Malcolm X taught us is that once a black man discovers for himself a pride of his blackness, he can throw off the shackles of mental slavery and become a MAN in the truest sense of the word. We must move on from the point our Great Black Prince had reached.

We must not get hung- in the bag of having one great leader who we depend upon to make decisions. This is the movement too vulnerable. Those forces the white man uses to keep us enslaved, such as the draft, murder, prison or character assassination.

We have to all learn to become leaders for ourselves and remove all white values from our minds. When we see a Brother using a white value through error it is our duty to the Movement to point it out to him. We must thank our Brothers who show us our own errors. We must discipline ourselves so that if necessary we can leave family and friends at a moment's notice, maybe forever, and know our Brothers have pledged themselves to protect the family we have left behind.

As a part of our education, we must travel to other cities and make contracts with the Brothers in all the ghettos in America so that when the time is right we can unite as one under the banner of BLACK POWER.

LEARNING TO THINK BLACK AND REMOVE WHITE THINGS FROM OUR MINDS

We have got to begin to say and understand with complete assuredness what black is. Black is an inner pride that the white man's language hampers us from expressing. Black is being a complete fanatic, who white society considers insane.

We have to learn that black is so much better than belonging to the white race with the blood of millions dripping from their hands that it goes far beyond any prejudice or resentment. We must fill ourselves with hate for all white things. This is not vengeance or trying to take the white oppressors' place to become new black oppressors but is a oneness with a worldwide black brotherhood.

We must regain respect for the lost religion of our fathers, the spirits of the black earth of Africa. The white man has so poisoned our minds that if a Brother told you he practiced Voodoo you would roll around on the floor laughing at how stupid and superstitious he was.

We have to learn to roll around on the floor laughing at the black man who says he worships the white Jesus. He is truly sick.

We must create our own language for these things that the white man will not understand. Because a Black Culture exists and it is not the wood-carvings or native dancing it is the black strength inside of true men.

IDEAS ON PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE OF BLACK POWER

We must infiltrate all government agencies. This will not be hard because black clerks work in all agencies in poor paying jobs and have a natural resentment of the white men who run these jobs.

People must be assigned to seek out these dissatisfied black men and women and put pressure on them to give us the information we need. Any man in overalls, carrying a tool box, can enter a building if he looks like he knows what he is doing.

Modern America depends on many complex systems such as electricity, water, gas, sewerage and transportation and all are vulnerable. Much of the government is run by computers that must operate in air conditioning. Cut off the air conditioning and they cannot function.

We must begin to investigate and learn all of these things so that we can use them when necessary. We cannot train an army in the local park but we can be ready for confrontation with the white man's system.

Remember your Brothers in South Africa and do not delude yourselves that it could not happen here. We must copy the white man's biggest trick, diversion, (Hitler taught them that) and infiltrate all civil rights groups, keep them in confusion so they will be neutralized and cannot be used as a tool of the white power structure.

The civil rights, integrationist movement says to the white man, "If you please, Sir, let us, the 10 percent minority of American have our rights. See how nice and non-violent we are?"

Why SNCC calls itself a Human Rights Organization. We believe that we belong to the 90 percent majority of the people on earth that the white man oppressed

Uncle Tom is too kind of a word. What we have are black traitors, quisslings, collaborators, sellouts, white Negroes.

We have to expose these people for once and for all for what they are and place them on the side of the oppressor where they belong. Their black skin is a lie and their guilt the shame of all black men. We must ostracize them and if necessary exterminate them.

We must stop fighting a "fair game." We must do whatever is necessary to win BLACK POWER. We have to hate and disrupt and destroy and blackmail and lie and steal and become blood-brothers like the Mau-Mau.

We must eliminate or render ineffective all traitors. We must make them fear to stand up like puppets for the white men, and we must make the world understand that these so-called men do not represent us or even belong to the same black race because they sold out their birthright for a mess of white society pottage. Let them choke on it.

PITFALLS TO AVOID ON THE PATH TO BLACK POWER

We must learn how close America and Russia are politically. The biggest lie in the world is the cold war. Money runs the world and it is controlled completely by the white man.

Russia and America run the two biggest money systems in the world and they intend to keep it under their control under any circumstances. Thus, we cannot expect any help from Communism or any other "ism."

We must seek out poor peoples movements in South America, Africa and Asia and make our alliances with them. We must not be fooled into thinking that there is a ready-made doctrine that will solve all our problems.

There are only white man's doctrines and they will never work for us. We have to work out our own systems and doctrines and culture.

WHY PROPAGANDA IS OUR MOST IMPORTANT TOOL

The one thing that the white man's system cannot stand is the TRUTH because his system is all based on lies.

There is no such thing as "justice" for a black man in America. The white man controls everything that is said in every book, newspaper, magazine, TV and radio broadcast.

Even the textbooks used in the schools and the bible that is read in the churches are designed to maintain the system for the white man. Each and every one of us is forced to listen to the white man's propaganda every day of our lives.

The political system, economic system, military system, educational system, religious system and anything else you name is used to preserve the status quo of white America getting fatter and fatter while the black man gets more and more hungry.

We must spend our time telling our Brothers the truth.

We must tell them that any black woman who wears a diamond on her finger is wearing the blood of her Brothers and Sisters in slavery in South Africa where one out of every three black babies die before the age of one, from starvation, to make the white man rich.

We must stop wearing the symbols of slavery on our fingers.

We must stop going to other countries to exterminate our Brothers and Sisters for the white man's greed.

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We must ask our Brothers which side they are on.

Once you know the truth for yourself it is your duty to dedicate your life to recruiting your Brothers and to counteract the white man's propaganda.

We must disrupt the white man's system to create our own. We must publish newspapers and get radio stations. Black Unity is strength-- let's use it now to get BLACK POWER.

1STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

SECRET

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT

On November 2, 1964 a source made available a document entitled "The Revolutionary Action Movement Manifesto", the document having been obtained by the source from an individual known to be a member of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM).

This document stated, in part, that RAM was officially organized in the winter of 1963 by Afro-Americans who support the revolutionary objectives of ROBERT T. WILLIAMS then residing in Cuba, and his concept of organized violence to achieve the liberation of the Afro-American people in the United States. This Manifesto disclosed that RAM had oriented its program to one of education and political revolution and the organization of a "black" political party with revolutionary objectives, having recognized the need for a "black revolution" that could and would seize power. RAM philosophy is described in this document as one of revolutionary nationalism; that is, one involving the struggles of the nonwhite races of the world against exploitation and enslavement by the white capitalist and imperialist nations.

Pegarding WILLIAMS, it should be noted that on August 28, 1961 a Federal warrant was issued at Charlotte, North Carolina charging him with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the crime of kidnapping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, WILLIAMS fled the United States to Cuba where he published a monthly newsletter entitled "The Crusader" from Havana. As of December, 1963, WILLIAMS was residing in Peking, China.

This source in September, 1964 advised RAM is dedicated to the overthrow of the capitalist system in the United States by violence, if necessary, and its replacement by a socialistic system oriented toward the Chinese Communist interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. RAM is entirely prowhite in membership, clandestine in nature, and owes its primary allegiance to the "Banting World", that is, the nonwhite races of the world rather than to any national entity as such.

On November 16, 1964 a second source advised he learned recently from a RAM member that the organization began in Detroit, Michigan largely under the auspices of TOM FREEMAN, described as the "Father" of RAM and referred to as RAM's "Black Stalin". FREEMAN served as RAM Chairman, with MAXWELL STANFORD (now of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) serving as RAM Field Chairman.

APPENDIX

2

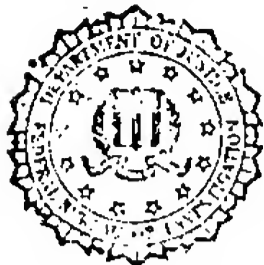
On May 12, 1967 a third source advised that the RAM still remains active; however, there is no formal headquarters, as such, for the RAM. The source advised that MAXWELL STANFORD of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is considered the leader of RAM and if a RAM headquarters ever existed, it would most likely be where STANFORD resides.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

APPENDIXSTUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) as it is known today came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for it". At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-Communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes" the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some Communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 16, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

C O N F I D E N T I A L



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Detroit, Michigan

April 30, 1968

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

Title	Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
Character	Racial Matters
Reference	Detroit report, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

Reporting Office

Office of Origin

Date

Investigative Period

DETROIT

REDACTED

7/31/68

4/19/68 - 7/29/68

Title of Case

Report made by

Typed by

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

1A

In CF

Character of Case

RE

References:

REFERENCE: Report of SA [REDACTED] at Detroit,
dated 4/30/68.

- P -

LEADS

DETROIT

AT DETROIT, MICHIGAN

Will follow and report SNCC activities in Michigan.

ADMINISTRATIVE

One copy of this report is being designated for
dissemination locally to C-2, NIS, and OSI.

Approved

Special Agent
In Charge

Do not write in spaces below

Copies made:

- 10 - Bureau (100-438819) (RM)
 1 - C-2, Detroit (RM)
 1 - NIS, Chicago (RM)
 1 - OSI, Dayton, Ohio (RM)
 2 - Atlanta (100-6438) (RM)
 2 - Detroit (100-31374)

34 AUG 5 1968

REC-75

EX-100

AGENCY: ACSI, NIS, OSI, SEC. SERV.,

DEPT: LEO, CRD, RAO, [REDACTED]

HOW FORW:

DATE FORW:

BY:

RACIAL INT. SECT.

This report is loaned to you by the FBI and neither it nor its contents are to be distributed outside the agency to which loaned.

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1968 O - 346713

1968

This report has been classified ~~confidential~~ since information appearing therein from most sources is from sources of continuing value whose exposure could be harmful to the national defense interest.

[REDACTED]

The following Agents participated in the physical surveillance of STOREY CARROLL while he was in Detroit, Michigan:

SAs

[REDACTED]

DE 100-31374

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

Location

This report page 1

This report page 2

This report page 2

100-31374-532

100-31374-534

100-31374-535

- C* -
Cover Page

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to: 1 - G-2, Detroit (RM)
1 - NIS, Chicago (RM)
1 - OSI, Dayton, Ohio (RM)

Report of: SA [REDACTED]
Date: July 31, 1968

Office: Detroit, Michigan

File Number: 100-31374

Bureau file: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis: Detroit SNCC headquarters located at 12322 Dexter, Detroit, Mich. DOROTHY NEWBERRY is Detroit SNCC leader and is assisted by DANIEL ALDRIDGE and LONNIE PEEK. Financial data regarding SNCC and its principal leaders set out. During period 4-7/68, Detroit SNCC activities limited to sponsoring appearance of STOKELY CARMICHAEL in Detroit during 6/68. Sources report Detroit SNCC does not dominate or exert control over any of the elements within the Detroit Negro community. Information relating to Detroit SNCC activities from 4-7/68 set out.

- P -

DETAILS:

I. BACKGROUND

A. Location

[REDACTED] on July 12, 1968, advised the Detroit Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) headquarters is located at 12322 Dexter, Detroit, Michigan.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

A characterization of SNCC appears in the appendix attached hereto.

B. Officers

On July 12, 1968, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] all advised that DOROTHY DAWBERY is leader of Detroit SNCC and is assisted by DANIEL ALDRIDGE and LONNIE PEEK.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

II. DETROIT SNCC ACTIVITIES

During July, 1968, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] all advised that Detroit SNCC activities have been practically non-existent during the period April to July, 1968. The only sponsored activity of Detroit SNCC was the appearance of national SNCC leader STOKELY CARMICHAEL in Detroit during

June, 1968. Sources advise Detroit SNCC appears to be in dire financial straights and as a result of this factor, their activities have been sharply cut back.

Sources advise that SNCC in the Detroit area does not at this time dominate or exert control over any of the elements in the Detroit Negro community. Further, its current appeal to college and high school students is completely lacking. Sources advise Detroit SNCC does not engage in recruiting activities as such, but when they do sponsor a function, information is passed by word of mouth throughout the Detroit Negro community.

Regularly scheduled meetings of Detroit SNCC with numerous individuals in attendance do not prevail in this area as it is not considered to be a "tight membership" organization.

Detroit sources report no Communist Party (CP) individuals affiliated with Detroit SNCC and that no Detroit SNCC leaders have been known to travel outside the United States during the period April to July, 1968.

Sources were of the opinion Detroit SNCC does not have any noticeable impact on racial activities in the Detroit area.

On April 4, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that a Black Government Conference sponsored by the Republic of New Africa (RNA) was held on March 30, 1968, on the campus of Wayne State University (WSU), Detroit, Michigan. DOROTHY DEBBINEY, Detroit SNCC leader, was one of 400 individuals present at this meeting as well as DANIEL ALDRIDGE, an assistant Detroit SNCC leader.

At this meeting nominations were held for various offices in the new government. STOKELY CARMICHAEL's name was mentioned as one of the nominees for the position of Minister of State and Foreign Affairs.

[REDACTED] on April 1, 1968, advised the RNA is a militant Negro separatist organization which was founded March 30-31, 1968, at a Black Government Conference held at the Central United Church of Christ, 7625 Linwood Avenue, Detroit, Michigan (The Shrine of the Black Madonna).

This conference was sponsored by the Malcolm X Society, an organization utilized by Pontiac, Michigan, Attorney MILTON ROBINSON HENRY, his brother, RICHARD BULLOCK HENRY, Detroit, Michigan, and the Reverend ALBERT B. CLEAGE, JR., Pastor of the Central United Church of Christ, Detroit, as a vehicle to promote various Black Nationalist activities.

The HENREYS and Reverend CLEAGE adopted the name Malcolm X for their society since Malcolm X, also known as Malcolm X Little, now deceased, was a former leader in the Nation of Islam (NOI) and after his break with the NOI organized the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU). Malcolm X was known nationally as an advocate of black power and since his assassination February 21, 1965 at New York City, any meeting or organization utilizing his name receives widespread publicity from the news media.

The Malcolm X Society, prior to its dissolution and incorporation into the RNA maintained no headquarters, had no formal membership as such and did not hold any meetings.

The purpose of the RNA, which is to be revolutionary in nature, is to make efforts for international recognition with assistance from other black nations of the world. The RNA proposes to make attempts to obtain an

island, establish a government in exile on this island, petition for a seat in the United Nations, and demand reparations from the United States Government for ancestral slave labor. These reparations are to take the form of sectionalizing the United States by petitioning for the States of Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina. The officers of the RKA also propose the establishment of a standing armed force to be financed through an income tax imposed on willing black persons in the United States.

In the furtherance of the purposes of the RKA, several executive officers have presented the Republic's credentials and an offer to negotiate for reparations to the United States Secretary of State.

ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, a Negro militant from the United States residing in Peking, China, was elected President of the RKA, MILTON HENRY was elected Vice President, and RICHARD HENRY was elected Minister of Information.

A characterization of ROBERT F. WILLIAMS is contained in the characterization of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) which is attached hereto.

Characterizations of the NOI, OAAU and MMI are attached hereto.

The April 27, 1963, issue of the "Michigan Chronicle", a weekly newspaper published in Detroit, Michigan, which caters to a minority group, contained an article captioned "King Rites A Big Joke Charges Young Militant". This article quoted DANIEL ALPHEGE of Detroit SNCC as saying the following:

"Having been one of the more than 200,000 people who attended the funeral of Dr. Martin Luther King, he termed the services a joke.

" 'Brother Martin's funeral was a practical joke played on humanity in general', he said, 'and on Afro-Americans in particular by those who have neither regard nor respect for anything save their Caucasian vanity and material wealth.'

"The outspoken organizer of the recent Malcolm X Day activities also spoke of 'political manipulation' related to King's death.

" 'Hypocrites appeared (at the services) from every nook and cranny of this 'sick' and 'decadent' society. Brother Martin's passing was manipulated for the political expediency of those who have made manipulation and control a habit'.

"Aldridge also criticized some of the political figures who attended the services or made public expressions of sympathy. He pointed out that Nelson Rockefeller, governor of New York, who publicly mourned the death of King, also sits on the board of directors of the bank that handles the major portion of American investments in the Union of South Africa.

" 'Consequently', said Aldridge, 'Governor Rockefeller is responsible for the murder and oppression of millions of our brothers in South Africa. Governor Rockefeller, however, was treated as a dignitary and brother Carmichael had difficulty getting into the church'.

"Senator Robert Kennedy, referred to by Aldridge as 'Benevolent Bobby', was the leading celebrity at the funeral, according to the young militant. Kennedy, Aldridge stated, manipulated the crowd like a professional puppeteer. Said Aldridge, 'Bobby' is purchasing the New York Amsterdam News and other black papers around the country. If he is successful, 'Bobby' will kill the possibilities of black anti-Bobby statements in the press. He will emerge as our version of the 'Ajax white knight', spreading hope.

"In a verbal lashing of Vice-President Hubert Humphrey and the administration's Vietnam policies, Aldridge pulled no punches. Humphrey, he said, attended the funeral 'as the blood of untold numbers of Vietnamese dripped from his hands'.

"It never occurred to Mr. Humphrey, he added, that the release of brother Ray Brown and the 10,000 political prisoners incarcerated since Brother Martin's assassination would have been a fitting gesture. As usual, he was treated as a dignitary as throngs of Brother Martin's followers could not even get close to the casket.

"The commercial aspect of the services was also touched on by Aldridge.

"Fun was had by all, he said. 'I had a dream' bumper stickers were sold. M. L. King Jr. buttons were sold, M. L. King photographs were sold, photographic rights were sold to Life Magazine and people marched and sang as they had not been able to do since the fiasco of '63 (the march on Washington).

"White society will continue to scream 'Remember, he was non-violent', said Aldridge. 'I hope that we will not become so involved over our brother's tactic that we will forget his objective, the liberation of humanity in general and Afro-Americans in particular'."

On June 8, 1968, at approximately 5:40 PM, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was observed arriving on Northwest Airlines Flight 353, at Detroit Metropolitan Airport by Special Agents of the FBI. He was met at the airport by POROBY JEWELRY, DANIEL ALDRIDGE, and LONNIE PEEK, Detroit SNCC leaders. Following his departure from the airport he proceeded to the offices of the "Michigan Chronicle", 479 Ledyard, Detroit, arriving there at approximately 6:35 PM.

At approximately 7:40 PM, subject departed this location and proceeded to the Redeemer Presbyterian Church, 2764 West Grand Boulevard, Detroit, where he was scheduled to speak at 8:00 PM.

On June 10, 1968, [REDACTED] advised of the following information concerning the appearance of STOKELY CARMICHAEL on June 8, 1968, at the Redeemer Presbyterian Church, 2764 West Grand Boulevard, Detroit. This affair was sponsored by the Association of Black Students, Wayne State University, Detroit, and Detroit SNCC.

[REDACTED] advised that the Association of Black Students, Detroit, is an organization composed of black nationalist students at Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan, and is an officially recognized campus organization.

An above capacity crowd appeared at Redeemer Presbyterian Church to hear Stokely Carmichael. By 7:00 p.m. the church was all but filled to capacity. An estimated 1,000 persons were turned away as there was insufficient room in the church to accommodate them. Of the persons who came to hear Stokely Carmichael, 95 percent were avid believers and supporters of the "black power" viewpoint, and 95 percent of them wore Afro-haircuts and/or some mode of African dress, i.e., wearing apparel, beads, etc. As usual, various forms of African Icons or "Tiki's" were worn around the necks. Here and there the symbolic 50 caliber machine gun bullet was seen around the necks of the Negro males.

A special detail armed with M-1 rifles were on duty to provide security. Two Afro-American guards were stationed at the southeast door. Both were armed with M-1 rifles. One of those two guards also was equipped with a pair of binoculars and was constantly watching the windows on the top floor of an apartment building which is just east of the church. Two other guards were equipped with M-1 rifles and stationed at the southwest corner of the church, and two Negro males with M-1 rifles were positioned immediately behind the pulpit or speaker's rostrum. In all, six M-1 rifles were observed in the church. The highest measures of security were obvious.

Everyone who entered the church was searched. Occasionally, a knife was found and immediately taken away. They were returned after the meeting was dismissed and as the owner of the weapon left the church. No one was allowed to leave the church after they had entered. Everyone had to remain until the program was over. Guards were stationed at various points in the church and constantly scanned the audience for any irregularities. No one was allowed to stand. Even those located in the aisles were ordered to sit on the floor. Four

medium size Negro males were constantly with Stokely Carmichael. They stood in proximity to Carmichael so that their bodies formed a human shield. On Carmichael's left was a Negro male, extremely black complexion, stocky build, about 5'5", 155 pounds, clean shaven. He wore a dark green hat constantly and appeared to be in his late teens or early twenties. To Carmichael's right were two Negro males who were about the same size and weight as the aforementioned male. They appeared to be related or brothers. Immediately behind Stokely Carmichael was a medium light brown Negro male, about 5'6", 175 pounds, black hair, clean shaven, broad facial features. He wore a conventional suit and was neatly dressed. The four security guards stood so close to Stokely their elbows jammed his ribs. They seemingly were selected because of their broad body styles or types. It appears they are positioned so any potential assassins would have difficulty inflicting bodily injury to Carmichael because the guards are so stocky or broad in their builds.

Inside Redeemer Presbyterian Church, the Association of Black Students had tables set up to sell literature, various jewelry, African attire, and posters of Malcolm X. In the southeast corner of the auditorium of the church, a bongo band was situated and provided intermittent music for the affair.

Prior to Stokely Carmichael's speech, there had been several preliminary speeches. Stokely Carmichael was introduced by Dan Aldridge about 9:15 p.m. Carmichael's speech can best be described as a general educational presentation about what the philosophy and thinking of black militants should be if they are to successfully achieve their goals in their so-called revolution. Stokely Carmichael said he simply wanted to talk seriously about the way each Afro-American should be thinking today. He said the "Man" was getting ready to deal with all those trouble-making Negroes who the white man says is inciting to riot. For

that reason, he said he would read from the Bible as nothing could be charged to him for reading from the Scriptures. He read one or two verses from the Acts of the Apostles - the ones which dealt with how the enemy should be treated and destroyed. He also read from Jeremiah where it was indicated an order was given to destroy the cities and the enemy. And lastly, he read from the Book of Numbers which charged the people to go forth in battle and slay their enemies.

Stokely Carmichael told the audience that there had been enough of the business of going around shouting, "black power". He said little if anything would come of the mere shouting, "black power". He said it was of the utmost importance that the black people develop a discipline. Carmichael said the kind of discipline he had reference to was where narcotics users "kicked the habit". He also said the black people had to give up the wine bottle and instead use the money they are spending for wine to buy guns and ammunition. The third point he made about discipline was that Negroes had to stop devoting extreme energy to dealing with "Uncle Toms". He said some Afro-Americans are too quick to suggest that someone shoot such and such "Uncle Tom". He said they could not be that quick to shoot an "Uncle Tom" if they really loved black. He said, instead, they would work to convert the "Uncle Tom".

Stokely Carmichael said Afro-Americans had to cease the talk which says the black brothers who died looting stores in the big cities died for a color television set or a hi-fi. He said such talk is the white man's propaganda. He said the correct interpretation should be that those brothers died in the revolution fighting for freedom. He said the right thinking black man does not think in terms of dying for color television sets or money. Carmichael said money is useless and does not mean very much to an Afro-American. He said money means everything to white folks and that is why they will do anything to get money. Carmichael said white people jumped

out of windows wholesale during the depression of the 1930's, but indicated you did not then or now hear of any black folks jumping out of windows. Stokely Carmichael said Afro-Americans must learn that money is useless. He said land is the only real capital. He said in three months all will see just how useless money is because the economic system will fall apart. Carmichael said the goal is to get land because land makes for freedom and independence.

Stokely Carmichael said the black man in America has to stop thinking of Mao as a leader. He said Mao is a great leader but that he is Chinese and a leader of China. He said Castro, likewise is a great leader but is Cuban and a leader of Cuba. He said the black man needs a man on the scene to lead and hence, there is a need for black leadership.

Stokely Carmichael said the audience had to understand the revolution which is taking place in America today. He said three things needed to be understood. He said when a black man burns a store in the ghetto he is destroying the symbols of oppression. He said the other factor of the system is the tool or the police. He said the tools of the system (the police) had to be destroyed. And, lastly he said the oppressor must be destroyed just as his symbols and tools of the system.

Stokely Carmichael said the audience must understand there can never be freedom for the person who insists that he is a Negro. He said the term, "Negro" is a product of slavery and is synonymous with slavery. He said, Africa, on the other hand means freedom. He said Africa goes back thousands of years and that as long as black people were in Africa they were free. He said the clue then is Africa.

Stokely Carmichael said the audience must understand the need for education. He said that did not mean the kind of education which has been taught in America. Carmichael said an education is needed which fits the needs of the black people. He said most people will say Columbus discovered America because that is what they were taught in school. Carmichael said Columbus did not discover America. Instead, he said, Columbus bumped into it and even after he did he did not know where he was - thought he was in India. Stokely Carmichael said white people speak of discoveries in the sense that nothing existed until it had been seen with white eyes. He said that was the white man's brainwashing.

Stokely Carmichael said the white man left Europe and went all over the world deceiving, exploiting and destroying black people. He said they came to America and wiped out the Indians. Later, he said they went into South America, stole all the Incas gold, and then wiped them out. Stokely said the white man not only went into Africa and stole all the diamonds, gold and silver. He said, they even stole you. He said the white man tried all kinds of genocidal tricks on the slaves but it did not work. He said black men were sent to World War I, World War II, Korea and now Vietnam, and still comes back and tells the white man he is no where with his genocide.

Stokely Carmichael said he was not afraid to stand up and say openly he is on the side of the Vietnamese and wants the North Vietnamese to win the war. He said he also wants the Arabs to defeat Israel as they are mere "hunkies" like all white folks. Carmichael said the Jews have no business in Africa as Africa belongs to the black man. He said the Jews should have been given one-sixth of Germany under the doctrine that "to the victors go the spoils". He told the audience not to let the Jews use the old anti-semitic angle on them. Carmichael said the Jews always accuse the Negroes of being anti-semitic when they are criticized for their mistreatment of the Arabs. He said the Europeans are not semites, the Arabs are.

Stokely Carmichael referred to the television program, "Mission Impossible", and drew a comparison with the Central Intelligence Agency. He said the television program gave an excellent insight into how the white man operates. He said the "Man" eliminates you when you get in his way. He said the "Man" made a serious mistake when he "hit" (killed) Martin Luther King, Jr. He said it was "our" job to hit King if he needed to be hit. And Carmichael added, "We would have hit him at the right time if he had to be hit". He said every black man felt sadness when King was slain. Not so, he said, when "Bobby" Kennedy was slain. Stokely Carmichael said he watched closely President Johnson, Vice President Humphrey, Senator Mc Carthy and Governor Rockefeller, all trying to look sad but really showing they are glad "Bobby" Kennedy is out of the way.

Stokely Carmichael warned the blacks not to be deceived by the power of the vote. He said he was in Mississippi when the Negroes were running all over the place talking about they had the vote. He said the vote got them nothing except gunshots through their windows after they had dared go vote. He said one or two black people in Mississippi did not get the ballot but instead, got guns. He said the white "hunky" is not so apt to come out and shoot up the house when he knows that things are equal - that you have a gun too. Stokely said he believes in equality and therefore, he went out and bought five guns. He said he could not stress how important it was to "get guns, get guns, get guns." He said you must get guns, any kind of guns that you can lay your hands on because that is the only way to get equality. Instead of spending money for wine, Carmichael said, it should be spent for guns.

Stokely Carmichael again warned that dope addicts and drunks are of no value in the revolution. He said the police need only to get you locked up where you cannot get dope and you will tell them everything you know just to get some dope. The same, he said, is true of "winos".

Stokely Carmichael said he had been all over the world and advised the black people that they are the majority. He said if you go to Guatemala, you are home "baby" because the people there are black. He said the same was true of the West Indies, Brazil, Argentina, and even Canada. He said 55 percent of the people in Nova Scotia are black. He said you are "home baby" all over the world. In closing he reminded them of the four men who are in jail and who are their brothers, i.e., Huey Newton, H. Rap Brown, Cleveland Sellers, etc. He said those freedom fighters must be freed. He also said Malcolm X was the greatest black man that lived.

When Stokely Carmichael concluded his speech, Dan Aldridge took the podium and ordered security to keep the doors closed so no one could leave. He then made a big pitch for funds - baskets were passed to receive donations.

There were no white persons in the church as they were not allowed entry, and no one from the news media, i.e., television, newspapers, etc. were present.

Stokely Carmichael advised the black women to stop wearing the Mini-dresses. he said by wearing mini-dresses you are imitating white women. A wise man, he said, does not want the imitation but instead, prefers the real thing. Hence, if you want respect from black men, he said black women must be the real thing, not an imitation.

[REDACTED] advised of the following activity relating to Stokely Carmichael while in Detroit, Michigan, June 8-9, 1968:

At approximately 11:45 PM, June 8, 1968, Stokely Carmichael departed Redeemer Presbyterian Church, supra, and traveled to a residence at 651 West Boston Boulevard, Detroit, where a party was held in his honor. Subject, during the AM of June 9, 1968, visited with Dorothy Dewberry, Daniel Aldridge, and other individuals at 2657 Fullerton, Detroit, Michigan.

[REDACTED] advised on June 9, 1968, Carmichael, accompanied by three Negro males, who presumably traveled with him from Washington, D.C. to Detroit on June 8, 1968, were observed departing Detroit Metropolitan Airport at 2:55 PM, June 9, 1968, via Northwest Airlines Flight 338, scheduled to arrive at Washington, D.C. at 4:32 PM. Dorothy Dewberry, Daniel Aldridge, and Lonnie Peck were also observed with subject at Detroit Metropolitan Airport prior to Carmichael's departure from Detroit for Washington, D.C.

The "Michigan Chronicle" in its issue of July 29, 1968, contained an article captioned "Black Faces for White Faces". This article is set out as follows:

"Black Faces for White Faces?"

Editor's Note: Ben Aldridge, a young black activist who is a graduate student at Wayne State University, is a social and intimate friend of Stokely Carmichael and Dr. Martin Luther King, and head of the local Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), was asked by *The Chicago Tribune* for a "state of the city" (as it relates to black people) commentary. The following are his views.

By BEN ALDRIDGE

The liberation of black people in Detroit is linked with that of oppressed peoples everywhere. Failure to understand this has produced a variety of black capitalists.

Some travel behind the slogan of "transfer of power" and others behind the slogan of "black control of the black community." These brothers are really saying, "Let us substitute black faces for white faces."

It must be understood that if this transfer occurs without changing the system, or at least some of its institutions, i.e., religion, education, we will continue to produce people who organize banks before they organize schools.

I am not criticizing the organizing of financial institutions but black people must not be led to believe that this will solve their problems

(spiritual is more important than material).

I would like to use the Rockefeller family to show why "transfer of power" and "community control" are dubious notions. Let me show you what real power and control is.

Between 1881 and 1901 King Leopold, of Belgium, had approximately 15 million of our brothers and sisters in the Congo murdered. The purpose was to frighten the people into providing cheap labor and to control the enormous wealth of the Congo.

Mark Twain wrote a book exposing the Congo situation entitled "King Leopold's Soliloquy" (1905). John D. Rockefeller, grandfather of Nelson Rockefeller, had the book suppressed in the United States in exchange for the right to invest heavily in the Congo.

In 1914, 33 steelworkers were machine gunned during a strike at the Rockefeller-owned Coaling and Iron plant. In 1917, John D. began setting up phony unions to thwart attempts to organize the oil industry.

Employees were forced to join the company union.

Those who refused were fired and legitimate union organizers were beaten and shot by company hirelings. In fact, the situation got so bad that the Rockefeller Foundation had to be formed to clean up the family name.

Currently, Nelson's brother, Winthrop, is governor of Arkansas (someone has to keep his eye on the bangs in the state; bangs is the base for slandering). His nephew, John, is a state representative in W. Virginia (keeping his eye on the coal) and brother David, re president of the Chase Manhattan bank, keeps his eye on everything.

The family either controls or is invested in the following: Chase Manhattan bank, Morristown Trust, Metropolitan Life, Equitable Life, American Express, Rockefeller Center, Travelers Insurance, Eastern Airlines, Union Tank Car company, A.T. and T., Consolidated Natural Gas, Southern Railway, Standard Oil (New Jersey, Indiana, California and Ohio), Westinghouse Electric, Olin Mathieson Chemical, Cheesbrough-Ponds, Inc., Borden's, Bank of N. Y. . . . that's real power!

APPENDIXMUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED, MMI

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times", a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement, MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, reflect that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principals". The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News", a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (Of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

APPENDIX

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED

This confidential source advised on May 17, 1965, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York, where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which was also headed by MALCOLM X.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM, Formerly Referred to as
THE MUSLIM CULT OF ISLAM, also known
as MUHAMMAD'S TEMPLES OF ISLAM

In January, 1957, a source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam".

On May 5, 1967, a second source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 MUHAMMAD and other NOI officials, when referring to MUHAMMAD's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam".

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. MUHAMMAD claims to have been selected by ALLAH, The Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following MUHAMMAD's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "White devils", in the United States; and the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon".

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including MUHAMMAD, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1968, the first source advised MUHAMMAD had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised MUHAMMAD had, in early July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to MUHAMMAD, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

APPENDIX

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN
UNITY, INCORPORATED (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, MALCOLM X LITTLE, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all-Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) with himself as Chairman. This announcement was made at a public rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African Heads of States) at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "human rights" while the initial objective is to "internationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. LITTLE condemned the nonviolent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes in education, politics, culture, economics and social reform.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City.

On April 13, 1965, a source advised that on March 26, 1965, the OAAU filed a Certificate of Incorporation with the Department of State, State of New York, Albany, New York, and henceforth the organization's true name would be Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated.

On February 28, 1966, a second source advised that the president and head of the OAAU is ELLA COLLINS, a half-sister of the late MALCOLM X who resides in the Harlem Section of New York City.

On May 8, 1967, the first source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU is located at 224 West 139th Street, New York, New York, which is the residence of ELLA COLLINS.

APPENDIX

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT

On November 3, 1964, a source made available a document entitled "The Revolutionary Action Movement Manifesto", the document having been obtained by the source from an individual known to be a member of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM).

This document stated, in part, that RAM was officially organized in the winter of 1963 by Afro-Americans who support the revolutionary objectives of ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, then residing in Cuba, and his concept of organized violence to achieve the liberation of the Afro-American people in the United States. This Manifesto disclosed that RAM had oriented its program to one of education and political revolution and the organization of a "black" political party with revolutionary objectives, having recognized the need for a "black revolution" that could and would seize power. RAM philosophy is described in this document as one of revolutionary nationalism; that is, one involving the struggles of the nonwhite races of the world against exploitation and enslavement by the white capitalist and imperialist nations.

Regarding WILLIAMS, it should be noted that on August 28, 1961, a Federal warrant was issued at Charlotte, North Carolina, charging him with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the crime of kidnapping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, WILLIAMS fled the United States to Cuba where he published a monthly newsletter entitled "The Crusader" from Havana. As of December, 1966, WILLIAMS was residing in Peking, China.

This source in September, 1964, advised RAM is dedicated to the overthrow of the capitalist system in the United States by violence, if necessary, and to its replacement by a Socialistic system oriented toward the Chinese Communist interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. RAM is entirely nonwhite in membership, clandestine in nature, and owes its primary allegiance to the "Bandung World"; that is, the nonwhite races of the world rather than to any national entity, as such.

On November 16, 1964, a second source advised he learned recently from a RAM member that the organization began in Detroit, Michigan, largely under the impetus of DON FREEMAN, described as the "Father" of RAM and referred to as RAM's "Black Stalin". FREEMAN served as RAM Chairman, with MAXWELL STANFORD (now of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) serving as RAM Field Chairman.

APPENDIX

2

On May 12, 1967, a third source advised that the RAM still remains active; however, there is no formal headquarters, as such, for the RAM. The source advised that MAXWELL STANFORD of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is considered the leader of RAM and if a RAM headquarters ever existed, it would most likely be where STANFORD resides.

APPENDIX

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 300-302 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, CARMICHAEL was replaced as Chairman by H. RAY BROWN, with CARMICHAEL assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of FIDEL CASTRO, CARMICHAEL participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, CARMICHAEL traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when CARMICHAEL was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating concessions from its ranks. With the election of H. RAY BROWN as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a world-wide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identified SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

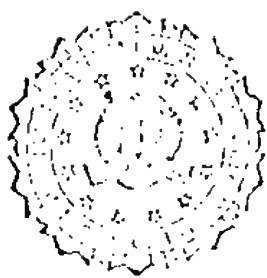
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, R. R. BROWN said "You better shape up in America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note BROWN wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Detroit, Michigan
July 31, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title	Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
Character	Racial Matters
Reference	Report at Detroit, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE DETROIT	OFFICE OF ORIGIN ATLANTA	DATE 10/31/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 7/31/68 - 10/31/68
TITLE OF CASE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY ECM
		CHARACTER OF CASE RM	

REFERENCE: Report of SA [REDACTED] at Detroit,
dated 7/31/68.

LEAD

*0-7 to DE for action, 11/12/68
characteristics of the NOE P -
MRE, + OAAU (comp. 5) not
responsible at the Bm.
Submitting by R/m. Decision being
withheld pending your reply.*

AT DETROIT, MICHIGAN *PTB/dkf*

Will follow and report SNCC activities in Michigan.

ADMINISTRATIVE

One copy of this report is being designated for
dissemination locally to G-2, NIS and OSI.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						<input type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN: PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO		
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES					
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APPROVED _____ SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE COPIES MADE: 10 - Bureau (100-439190) (RM) 1 - G-2, Detroit (RM) 1 - NIS, Chicago (RM) 1 - CSI, Dayton, Ohio (RM) 2 - Atlanta (100-6488) (PM) 2 - Detroit (157-3190)						100-439190-15-34 NOV 1 1968 REC-56		EX 106		
						RACIAL SECT.				
Dissemination Record of Attached Report						Notations				
Agency	ACSI	OSI	SS	RAI	ISD	FDIU	CC 806 94D 145 OCT 30 1970			
Request Recd.	CRM	CRD								
Date Fwd.	11/18/68									
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By	51 NOV 18 1968									

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This report has been classified confidential since information appearing therein from most sources is from sources of continuing value whose exposure could be harmful to the national defense interest.

Detroit is following the activities of Detroit SNCC leaders for any possible violation of the Atiriot Laws. Any information developed in this matter will be handled in accordance with Bureau instructions.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

Location.

This report page 1

this report page 2

This report page 2

DE 157-3190

Identity of Source

Location

[REDACTED]

NY 100-147963-1B12

157-2413

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Copy to: 1 - G-2, Detroit (RM)
1 - NIS, Chicago (RM)
1 - OSI, Dayton, Ohio (RM)

Report of: SA [REDACTED]
Date: October 31, 1968

Office: Detroit, Michigan

Field Office File #: 157-3190

Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis: Detroit SNCC headquarters was formerly located at 12322 Dexter, Detroit, Mich.; however, it no longer maintains a headquarters due to a lack of funds. DOROTHY DEWEERRY continues to function as leader of Detroit SNCC and to be assisted by DANIEL ALDRIDGE and LONNIE PEEK. Financial data relating to Detroit SNCC and its leaders set out. No Detroit SNCC sponsored activities reported during period July to October, 1968. Sources advise Detroit SNCC has no noticeable impact on Detroit black community and characterized Detroit SNCC leaders as inept and not offering any fresh, inspiring, or militant programs which would attract black militant youth to the organization. Miscellaneous information relating to Detroit SNCC leaders during July and August, 1968, set out.

- P -

DETAILS:

I. BACKGROUND

A. Location

On October 15, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that Detroit Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) headquarters

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GROUP I

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

was formerly located at 12322 Dexter, Detroit, Michigan; however, it no longer maintains a headquarters due to a lack of funds.

A characterization of SNCC appears in the appendix attached hereto.

B. Officers

On October 15, 1968 [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] all advised DOROTHY DEWBERRY continues to function as leader of Detroit SNCC and to be assisted by DANIEL ALDRIDGE and LONNIE PEEK.

C. Financial Data Concerning
Detroit SNCC Leaders

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and [REDACTED] both advised that they knew of no Detroit SNCC sponsored activities during the period July to October, 1968.

[REDACTED] and [REDACTED] further advised that based on their observations of Detroit SNCC, they are of the opinion Detroit SNCC has no noticeable impact on the Detroit black community. Further, because of its inept leadership which sponsors no fresh, inspiring or militant programs, black youth are not being attracted to the organization.

**II. MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION RELATING
TO DETROIT SNCC LEADERS**

[REDACTED]

On August 17, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that DANIEL ALDRIDGE and LONNIE PEEK represented Detroit SNCC at a Republic of New Africa (RNA) meeting held August 16, 1968, at St. Joseph's Church, Woodward and Holbrook, Detroit, Michigan. [REDACTED] advised that approximately 350 people attended this meeting and that the group was comprised of various elements of the Black Nationalist movement in the Detroit area.

According to [REDACTED] WARREN GALLOWAY, an official of the RNA, explained a petition drive they were conducting and talked about the close connections the Detroit RNA Consulate had with East Coast Consulates. GALLOWAY also remarked that the differences of "thinking" between the RNA and other militant organizations would be ironed out at the Black Power National Conference which was scheduled to be held in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, August 29 to September 1, 1968.

A characterization of the RNA appears in the appendix attached hereto.

REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA (RNA)

Confidential source #1 advised the Republic of New Africa (RNA) is a militant Negro separatist organization which was founded March 30-31, 1968, at a Black Government Conference held at the Central United Church of Christ, 7625 Linwood Avenue, Detroit, Michigan (The Shrine of the Black Madonna).

Confidential source #2 advised this conference was sponsored by the Malcolm X Society, an organization utilized by ELLIOT ROSENBERG (brother Goldi), an attorney at law from Pontiac, Michigan, who is regarded as one of the leaders of the Black Nationalist movement in the Detroit area; his brother, RICHARD ELLIOTT ROSENBERG (brother Umar), Detroit, Michigan, an employee of the Army Tank Automotive Command, Warren, Michigan, also a Black Nationalist leader and the Reverend ALVIN BUTLER CRAWFORD, SR., Pastor of the Central United Church of Christ, Detroit, as a vehicle to promote various Black Nationalist activities.

Confidential source #2 advised the N.A.A. brothers and sisters, the N.A.A. is a Black Nationalist organization since MALCOLM X, also known as MALCOLM X MURRAY, not deceased, was a former leader in the Nation of Islam (NOI), and after his break with the NOI organized the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (M.M.I.) and the Organization of Afro-Asian Peoples (O.A.A.P.). MALCOLM X was known nationally as a proponent of Black Power and since his assassination January 21, 1968, in New York City, any meeting or organization utilizing this name receives wide, rapid publicity from the news media.

The Malcolm X Society, prior to its dissolution, and incorporation into the RNA, maintained no headquarters, had no formal membership, and did not hold any meetings.

Confidential source #1 advised the purpose of the RNA, which is to be revolutionized by 1970, is to make efforts

for international recognition with assistance from other black nations of the world. The RNA proposes to make attempts to obtain an island or a plot of land in one of the Southern States, establish a government in exile, petition for a seat in the United Nations, and demand reparations from the United States Government for ancestral slave labor. These reparations are to be \$10,000.00 for every black person in the United States and the States of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina which are to be given to the RNA by the United States Government. The officers of the RNA also propose the establishment of a standing armed force, to be known as the Black Legion, which is to be financed through an income tax imposed on willing black persons in the United States.

In the furtherance of the purposes of the RNA, several executive officers have presented the Republic's credentials and an offer to negotiate for reparations to the United States Secretary of State.

ROBERT L. WILLIAMS was elected President of the RNA, MILTON HENRY was elected First Vice President, LUTLY SHABAZZ, widow of the late MALCOLM X, was elected Second Vice President, and RICHARD H. HILL was elected Minister of Information.

On August 28, 1961, a Federal warrant was issued for the arrest of ROBERT L. WILLIAMS, charging him with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the crime of kidnapping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, WILLIAMS fled to Cuba where he published a monthly Black Nationalist newsletter entitled "The Crusader". WILLIAMS subsequently moved from Havana, Cuba, to Peking, China, where he has continued to publish "The Crusader".

Characterizations of the NOI, MII and OAAU are attached hereto.

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APPENDIX

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED, MMI

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times", a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement, MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, reflect that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principals". The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News", a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (Of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

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APPENDIX

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED

This confidential source advised on May 17, 1965, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York, where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which was also headed by MALCOLM X.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

NATION OF ISLAM

A source advised on May 3, 1968, that the Nation of Islam (NOI) is an all-Negro organization originating in Detroit, Michigan, in the early 1930's. Elijah Muhammad is the leader of the NOI and self-styled "Messenger of Allah" in that he claims Allah (God) selected him to lead the so-called Negro out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation within the United States. Headquarters of the NOI is located at Muhammad's Temple (or Mosque) Number 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

Muhammad teaches there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "devils" in the United States; and that the white race because of its exploitation of the so-called Negro will be destroyed by Allah in an approaching "War of Armageddon," a war between God and the devil.

Officials and members of the NOI, including Muhammad, have refused to comply with provisions of the Selective Service Act, stating that they respect laws of the United States as long as they do not conflict with the laws of the NOI but do not believe the government should force them to participate in wars from which they have nothing to gain.

In the late 1950's, Muhammad, acting on legal advice, tempered NOI teachings against the white man and the government to avoid possible prosecution; however, basic tenets remain the same. He de-emphasized religious teachings in the NOI and emphasized economic benefits derived by so-called Negroes who join the NOI. Muhammad believed this would create more interest in his programs and, of course, new followers.

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN
UNITY, INCORPORATED (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, MALCOLM X LITTLE, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all-Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) with himself as Chairman. This announcement was made at a public rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African Heads of States) at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "human rights" while the initial objective is to "internationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. LITTLE condemned the nonviolent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes in education, politics, culture, economics and social reform.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City.

On April 13, 1965, a source advised that on March 26, 1965, the OAAU filed a Certificate of Incorporation with the Department of State, State of New York, Albany, New York, and henceforth the organization's true name would be Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated.

On February 28, 1966, a second source advised that the president and head of the OAAU is ELLA COLLINS, a half-sister of the late MALCOLM X who resides in the Harlem Section of New York City.

On May 8, 1967, the first source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU is located at 224 West 139th Street, New York, New York, which is the residence of ELLA COLLINS.

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, is a non-membership organization, which was born out of the sit-in movement that erupted across the South beginning in 1960.

Today SNCC identifies itself as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

According to SNCC, the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalistic system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellious when oppression became too great."

From May, 1966, until May, 1967, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was National Chairman of SNCC. As of July, 1968, CARMICHAEL resided in Washington, D.C., where he was affiliated with SNCC and active as temporary chairman of a black coalition group. In May, 1967, CARMICHAEL was replaced by HUBERT GEROLD BROWN, commonly known as H. RAP BROWN, who served until June, 1968.

In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Detroit, Michigan
October 31, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~SECRET~~
Title STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character RACIAL MATTERS

Reference Report at Detroit, dated
and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

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your agency.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE DETROIT	OFFICE OF ORIGIN ATLANTA	DATE 1/31/69	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 10/31/68 - 1/31/69
TITLE OF CASE (STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY cmt
		CHARACTER OF CASE RM	

REFERENCE: Report of SA [REDACTED], at Detroit,
dated 10/31/68.

- P -

LEAD

DETROIT

AT DETROIT, MICHIGAN

Will follow and report SNCC activities in
Michigan.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						<input type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES			
								PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
APPROVED						SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE		DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW
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						6 FEB 3 1969		
Dissemination Record of Attached Report						Notations <div style="transform: rotate(-30deg); border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;"> [Handwritten Signature/Initials] </div>		
Agency	[Handwritten: RHP, SD, ID, CRD, CCM, ACSI, OSI, SS]							
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Date Fwd.	[Handwritten: 2-11-69]							
How Fwd.	[Handwritten: 147, 615]							
By	[Handwritten: 56 FEB 18 1969]							

56 FEB 18 1969

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DE 157-3190

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This report has been classified confidential since information appearing therein from most sources is from sources of continuing value whose exposure could be harmful to the national defense interest.

[REDACTED]

Detroit is following the activities of Detroit Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) leaders for any possible violation of the Antiriot Laws. Any information developed in this matter will be handled in accordance with Bureau instructions.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

Location

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

This report page 2

D -
Cover Page

DE 157-3190

Identity of Source

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Location

This report page 2

157-3190-640

157-3190-640

- C* -
Cover Page

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Copy to: 1 - G-2, Detroit (RM)
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Report of: SA [REDACTED] Office: Detroit, Michigan
Date: January 31, 1969

Field Office File #: 157-3190 Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
(SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis: The Detroit Office of SNCC maintains no headquarters. Leadership of Detroit SNCC reported to be same with DOROTHY DEWBERRY as its leader, assisted by LONNIE PEEK and DANIEL ALDRIDGE. No reported Detroit SNCC sponsored activities during period 10/31/68 - 1/31/69. PEEK and ALDRIDGE, Assistant Detroit SNCC leaders, are becoming increasingly active in Detroit BPP activities. Miscellaneous activities of Detroit SNCC leaders set out.

- P -

DETAILS:

I. BACKGROUND

A. Location

On January 15, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that Detroit SNCC maintains no headquarters.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1

Excluded From Automatic
Downgrading and
Declassification

A characterization of SNCC
appears in the appendix
attached hereto.

B. Principal Officers

[REDACTED], and [REDACTED] all advised that
DOROTHY DEWBERRY continues to function as leader of
Detroit SNCC and is assisted by LONNIE PEEK and DANIEL
ALDRIDGE.

II. BLACK PANTHER PARTY ACTIVITIES OF DETROIT SNCC LEADERS

[REDACTED] advised during January,
1969, that LONNIE PEEK and DANIEL ALDRIDGE have become
increasingly active in Detroit Black Panther Party (BPP)
activities during November and December, 1968. These
sources advised that it is their observation that because
of the increased interest in BPP activities by PEEK and
ALDRIDGE, they have been inclined to show no interest in
Detroit SNCC activities.

A characterization of the BPP
appears in the appendix attached
hereto.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther", which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service", states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-Tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

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The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

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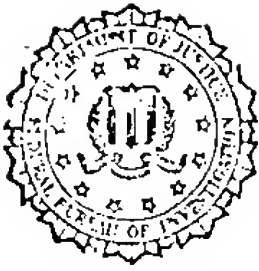
According to SNCC, the year 1967 marked a historic milestone in the struggle for the liberation of black people in the United States and the year that revolutionaries throughout the world began to understand more fully the impact of the black movement. SNCC declared that "liberation will come only when there is final destruction of this mad octopus--the capitalist system of the United States with all its life-sucking tentacles of exploitation and racism that choke the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The realities of black life, together with the recognition instilled in SNCC workers forced its members to further popularize the legitimacy of self-defense and rebellious when oppression became too great."

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In June, 1968, at the Staff and Central Committee meeting of SNCC held in Atlanta, Georgia, it was decided to restructure the organization by equalization of responsibility by creating ten deputy or vice chairmanships. The primary purpose for this change is to take law enforcement pressure off any single individual.

- 6* -

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Detroit, Michigan
January 31, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title	Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
Character	Racial Matters
Reference	Detroit report, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.